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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD--AFRICAN FASCICLE THREE.

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AFRICAN FASCICLE ONE

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
AFRICAN FASCICLE ONE

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Indiana University

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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0. This report begins by listing fundamental questions that have been asked about African languages, and then goes on to give information where information is available to us. Unguided, we might have known how to ask good questions, but not how to find the answers. Corresponding Contributors directed us to the relevant linguistic literature on Africa which begins, perhaps, with a Bantu grammar written by an Italian priest, Brusciotto, in 1659. A staff of highly intelligent and loyal graduate students then joined us in excerpting information from the bibliographies supplied to us by Corresponding Contributors. The materials thus gathered in the African part of the Language Files soon became unwieldy; for Bantu alone, for example, we have a history of 19th and 20th century research, and samples of that research which includes names that are household words in South Africa, and names that appear on the maps of Africa, whether or not they are otherwise known beyond the 19th century (David Livingstone, William Boyce, J. W. Appleyard, J. C. Frichard, and W. H. I. Bleek--the father of comparative Bantu--who preceeded and exceeds Lepsius, Cust and Torrend); it includes also the work of 20th century authorities (Johnstone, Werner, Carl Meinhof, C. M. Doke, D. T. Cole, and Malcolm Guthrie), not to mention American linguists who discovered Africa after World War II. The more information we obtained, the more strongly we felt the need for clarification. That was supplied by consultants, most of whom came to Indiana University and looked over what we had in the Language Files, and responded with sympathy and commiseration as well as with extraordinarily generous help, including tuition in perspective that one might expect to be restricted to the company of fellow Africanists. To be specific, what information we had on Kwa, for example, became amenable to interpretation only after Jack Berry and Hans Wolff worked with us as consultants and let us have

the benefit of their insight into this most difficult of all African problems. To take a converse example, what we lacked on information about specific Bantu languages was made available to us within a week after we telephoned Malcom Guthrie to tell him of our plight. The relationship between Guthrie's Bantu and the other Bantu discussed in this report was clarified by Hans Wolff. So likewise, we were helped in respect to the Cushitic problem by J. Joseph Pia, and in respect to the Berber problem by Joseph Applegate. William E. Welmers made useful contributions as consultant to the Language File when it first started in Washington, D. C., and a few years ago Joseph H. Greenberg responded to our urging to publish more of the supporting data for his most modern classification of African languages by permitting us to publish a monograph on that subject as a memoir of the International Journal of American Linguistics.

With all of the consultants who came to visit the Language File at Indiana, we discussed at least four fundamental questions about African languages.

- (1) What are the 'important' languages of Africa--whatever the criteria of 'importance' may be;
- (2) are the languages of Africa countless, or is the estimate of 800 separate languages given independently by Welmers and by Greenberg a realistic estimate;
- (3) how are these languages related; and
- (4) how are social problems--including problems faced by the emerging nations--affected by the language situation; or, conversely stated, how are African cultures reflected in their languages?

This is really one question, divided into four parts; and the parts are curiously interrelated. A language is most commonly regarded as 'important'

because it is spoken by a high number of speakers (1); but the more numerous the separate languages there are in a given area, continental or insular, the fewer the number of speakers for each language, on the average (2); and plurality of languages and/or dialects will tell one story if all or almost all are related, as in China, and another story if numerous languages are spoken in several unrelated language families, as in India (3); and further plurality of languages argues either for multiplicity of discrete cultures, as in much of native America, or implies communication through lingua francas if cultures are in significant contact (e.g. Akkadian in the Most Ancient East, or Latin in medieval Europe).

Whether or not a language is numerically important is relative, of course. Let us measure the numerically important African languages relative to the non-African languages which are known to have been introduced into Africa in historical times, whether Indo-European or Semitic, and which are spoken by three million or more speakers in Africa. Such languages would include Afrikaans, French, and English in that descending order among Indo-European languages (not counting Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and German, imported from Europe, nor Gujarati or Hindi imported from India, much less the Dravidian Tamil and Telugu from India--all of which are spoken by hundreds of thousands or merely by tens of thousands rather than by millions of speakers). Two Semitic languages that are spoken in Africa by millions and millions of speakers are Amharic (six million), and Arabic. By applying the usual criteria of 'importance', it turns out that Arabic, a language introduced from a neighboring continent in historical times, is by far the most important language of Africa, being spoken by four times as many people as the most important native African language (Hausa). Indeed, there may be fewer than a dozen out

of the hundreds of African languages that are represented by three million or more people (Hausa, Swahili, Ruanda, Fula, Yoruba, Luba, Mende and the two important Cushitic languages, Somali and Galla).

Of the two Old World continents, Africa and Eurasia, the latter is larger in size and in population; but more distinct languages are spoken in Africa. Though the smaller of the two Old World continents, Africa is still enormous (11,700,000 square miles): second only to Asia, almost one half again as large as the Soviet Union, and three times the size of the contiguous United States. The Welmers-Greenberg estimate of 800 languages ascribed to Africa is surely a low estimate. The report which follows shows that there are about 500 Bantu languages in Africa; and the number of language names prepared for a subsequent African Fascicle which gives the alphabetized index of all African languages totals 1140.

The total of language names cited in this report does not of course guarantee that there are exactly that number of separate languages spoken in Africa. Whenever there is the slightest indication in our sources that a language name might instead be the name of a dialect or a place name, that fact is noted in our report. In darkest Africa--that is, in the least investigated parts of Africa--it is almost impossible to say which language name represents a separate language and which represents a dialect (mutually or partially intelligible with other dialects): a fraction of one language, rather than a speech community surrounded by a language barrier. In the context of this report, a dialect is a fraction of one language. And a separate language (whether or not dialects of it are reported) is in contrast a simply localized speech community or a speech community localized in some

complex pattern (as interspersed among other languages) such that the investigator confirms the speakers of a particular language that a language barrier exists between their mother tongue and the different separate languages which they hear their neighbors speak. In some parts of Africa cultural factors, discussed below, are relevant to the identification of separate languages.

The difficulty in determining separate languages, in Africa, or in distinguishing between dialects and languages, is not always lack of inquiry, to be remedied as soon as investigators turn their attention to as yet unexplored continents. Africa must not be confused with New Guinea which was discovered only yesterday. Parts of Africa have been known in written history since Pharoic Egypt; and there is some evidence that Africa was circumnavigated by the ancient Phoenicians.

And in the modern period the work of full time Africanist specialists has contributed reliable perspective and voluminous details. Details remain, of course, but the essential gestalt of the linguistic diversity is probably secure: upwards of 800 separate languages. And this means that language barriers are more frequently encountered in Africa than in any other one continental or insular area of the Old World.

The cultural responses to language barriers are endlessly diverse; one alternative among responses is worth noting here. In Africa, lingua francas are more frequently encountered than in other parts of the world, but 'pidgins' have been created no more commonly in Africa than in Oceania, for example. A pidgin language may be regarded as an ad hoc example of a lingua franca. Unless specifically identified as a pidgin, the lingua francas in this report are normal languages which serve as the mother tongue or native language for some people, and as a second language for others. In discussing this question of the proliferation of lingua francas with Samarin, who spent years working

among the Sango whose language is used as lingua franca in Central African Republic and neighboring states, we alluded to a preliminary list we were preparing that included a dozen lingua francas (Kituba and Lingala in the Congos, Hausa and Fulani in Nigeria and countries to the north of Nigeria, Jukum or Badji and Bangangte in Cameroons, Bamum and Bali (spoken by African adherents of the Basel mission), Swahili in east central Africa, Mende, West Coast Pidgin English and Kafir or Pidgin Zulu-Xhosa). In response, Samarin alluded to a list of lingua francas that he had prepared while in Africa, about as long as ours but, interestingly enough, scarcely overlapping with our preliminary list. Samarin's list included Bambara, Bangala, Bulu, Ewondo populaire, Fanagolo (Chikabanga, Kitchen Kafir, Cilapalapa, Cilololo, Isikula, Mine Kafir, Basic Bantu), Ngbandi and Town Bemba. There must be over a score of different African languages but relatively few pidgin languages that are widely used as lingua francas or trade languages, and in addition at least five of the non-African languages imported into Africa are used as lingua francas by Africans speaking to Africans (Arabic, Amharic, French, English, and Afrikaans).

Without benefit of known history, it would be difficult to distinguish an African language from a non-African language. Some such criterion could be used as saying that non-African languages will be those that are members of language families most of whose languages are spoken outside of Africa (e.g. Indo-European and Semitic and Dravidian), while African languages are those which are affiliated in language families having all their languages spoken in Africa. This brings us to the question of how languages are classified in Africa.

Substantial linguistic information regarding African languages did not become available until the 19th century, when interior Africa was opened to Europeans; it was also in that century that enough information became available to permit Wilhelm von Humboldt to observe (1836) the genetic

relationship between Malay-like languages in Indonesia and languages in Polynesia, and to permit Major Powell, later in the same century, to demonstrate that there were more than half a hundred different American Indian language families in North America north of Mexico. There is a common denominator for African languages, Malayo-Polynesian languages, and languages of native America north of Mexico: hundreds and hundreds of separate languages can be enumerated for each of these.

In the twentieth century, the relationships among the languages of Africa, of the Pacific, and of native America were faced as three discrete problems which led to revolutionary changes in interpretation in Malayo-Polynesian and in native America north of Mexico, but only to minor modifications in Africa. Most revolutionary was Sapir's introduction of the notion of phylum linguistics, which led to the reduction of Powell's half hundred families to half a dozen phyla--and these have been further reduced since Sapir's day. If the scope of phylum linguistics is a macrocosm, and that of language family in the sense of the strict comparative method of Indo-European linguistics is taken as a microcosm, then the revolution in the still waters of the Pacific may be appreciated if one compares or analogizes between our single Indo-European language family, and the single Malayo-Polynesian language family. In the latter, all branches have been questioned, challenged, and rearranged. It is as though we were to decide, in Indo-European, that English was no longer Germanic, as previously supposed, but Italic; that Rumanian was no longer Italic, but Slavic; that Bulgarian was not at all Slavic, and hence not Indo-European, as previously supposed, but Turkic; and so on.

In contrast to these 20th century revolutions in macrocosmic North American linguistics, and microcosmic Malayo-Polynesian linguistics, the

broad picture of research on African languages shows it to be innocent of revolutionary changes in direction. Right from the start of classifications of African languages in the 20th century, there appeared to be--as Westermann phrases it in *The Study of African Languages, Present Results and Future Needs* (in the journal, *Africa*)--five 'main divisions':

Bantu (1)

Sudanic (2)

Nilotic (3)

Hamitic (4)

Khoisan (5)

And this represents, in essence, the most recent quintuplet classification which is given here in Greenberg's terminology as revised by us:

(1) Niger-Congo (for Bantu and West Sudanic)

(2) Nilo-Saharan (for East Sudanic)

(3) Nilo-Hamitic--affiliated with (4), below, by British and with (2), above, by American Africanists

(4) Afro-Asiatic (for Hamito-Semitic)

(5) Khoisan (for Khoisan).

There have been classificatory revolutions concerned with 20th century native America and Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian), but not with African languages. Yet it is impossible to interpret the language situation in Africa (a) as one in which the phenomena arrange themselves so obviously that successive generations of investigators have no alternative but to agree on four or five classificatory 'main divisions' (phyla), or (b) as one in which the phenomena have been so rapidly and so comprehensively

investigated that awareness of revolutionary proposals did not arise.

Both British Africanists and American Africanists have been explicitly aware that, because of the similarities between the 'main division' which is labelled Nilo-Hamitic above (3), and the 'main divisions' (phyla) labelled Afro-Asiatic (4) and Nilo-Saharan (2), there is a possibility that (3) might prove to be a link between (2) and (4) which would imply a very large macro-phylum: $(4) + (2) + (3)$. And this would change the picture of the linguistic relationship of Africa to the rest of the world, for it would say that half of the languages of Africa spoken in more than half of the African continent are ultimately related to a language that stands near the beginning of history in the Most Ancient East--Akkadian, with its Babylonian and Assyrian dialects that served as the first historically attested lingua franca; and of course to other Semitic languages from Biblical and Islamic periods to the historical penetration and diffusion of Arabic in modern Africa. Though both groups of investigators are aware of this possibility, neither advocate this revolutionary interpretation. Instead the British Africanists advocate affiliating (3), above, with (4), while the American Africanists advocate affiliating (3) with (2).

In the perspective of three successive periods of investigation of African languages, the first period may be identified by the names of Carl Meinhof, D. Westermann and their students--a period which ended with the emergence or recognition of five 'main divisions' for African languages, cited above. This was followed by what may be called the Jones-Firth-Boas period of African research. (And though it is generally recognized that

the Firthian impact on British Africanist linguistic research was to belittle and thereby curtail the progress of comparative work, it is not generally known that Franz Boas' students were surprisingly often concerned with African linguistics--as we learned when indexing the Franz Boas collection for the APS Library with Zellig Harris--and that Boas' anonymous influence on African research was more Firthian than Greenbergian.) The third period of African research, now underway, again places in primary focus the comparative problem stated--as in the first period--in terms of 'main divisions' or phyla.

Indeed, in none of the three periods of research has anyone bothered to make a humble count of the number of language families--that is, of the kind that Major Powell enumerated for American Indians north of Mexico--as though language families in Africa were more difficult to estimate than the separate languages in Africa; the latter have been estimated to be not fewer than 800.

African language families are no more difficult to count than those of North America or than those of Oceania. In the latter areas, early estimates were confirmed by later investigators. For Oceania, there is one language family whose old name, Malayo-Polynesian, is being rapidly replaced by a new name (Austronesian); and no one has even suggested the possibility that traces of remote relationships exist to connect this one Malayo-Polynesian language family with the numerous Papuan language families spoken in Melanesia (counting New Guinea as the great island of Melanesia), on the one hand, or to Australian languages on the other. For North America, as already mentioned, Powell counted half a hundred

language families. For Africa, the number of language families is 47, which may be listed seriatim, under the rubrics adopted for this report:

- 30 language families under Niger-Congo (1);
- 9 language families under Nilo-Saharan (2);
- 1 language family under Nilo-Hamitic (3);
- 5 language families under Afro-Asiatic (4);
- 2 language families under Khoisan (5).

KWA PHYLUM

1.1.0. The discussion of Kwa which follows is not a happy one. It is bothered by the very real and not yet resolved doubt that Kwa research, couched in terms of Kwa groups and subgroups, is concerned with a non-existent or fictional relationship among the groups and subgroups. That is to say, some workers fear that the whole Kwa story, told over half a century, may be a tale of fantasy about a family having blood ties when, in fact, the real story concerns strangers coming to live near each other in one part of Africa.

In linguistic phylum perspective, however, it is possible to assume that Kwa is not an historical accident of occasional similarities among unrelated neighbors; that rather, these similarities may be shown to have historical reality after adequate attention is paid to the constituent families of the Kwa phylum. In short, the phylum perspective for Kwa is sanguine; it is hopeful that, after all doubts are expressed, Kwa will re-emerge as it was in effect originally postulated: a linguistic phylum. This Kwa phylum, according to the latest reckoning, consists of the following language families:

Kru

Lagoon

Akan

Gã-Adangme

Ewe

Central Togo (Togo Restsprachen)

Yoruba-Edo

Nupe-Gbari

Idoma

Ibo

Ijo.

The Kwa group proposed by Westermann in *Die Westlichen Sudansprachen* remained unchallenged until quite recently. The name Kwa was first used by Krause in *Sprachproben aus dem Sudan*, ZAS 1889-90, and adopted by Christaller. Greenberg's classification (1955 and 1963) substantially follows Westermann in accepting Kwa as a group and the subgroupings within Kwa. In his most recent classification Greenberg added Ijo as a subgroup; in previous classifications this had been recognized as an independent group within Niger-Congo. Besides Ijo, Westermann and Bryan exclude Kru, Central Togo and Idoma from Kwa.

Although Westermann claimed that this group exhibited the closest relationship — based on shared vocabularies — among the western Sudanic languages, the validity of the group has been increasingly questioned by scholars in the field as in the report of the Working Committee on Kwa of the Second West African Languages Congress, Dakar, 1962. The fact that the Kwa languages are geographically contiguous is surely not a conclusive argument for their genetic relationship, but seems to have been so regarded by some scholars.

The main difficulty appears to be that, whereas the evidence adduced for some of the subgroups is convincing, doubts have been expressed as to the interrelation of the subgroups themselves. Moreover, it is yet to be demonstrated that the relationship between certain subgroups of Kwa is closer than relationships between these subgroups and languages in groups other than Kwa. At the same time, it must be admitted that there is clear evidence of relationship between the vocabularies of some pairs of language families — say, Kru and Akan.

What are listed by Greenberg (1963) as subgroups of Kwa, or parts of his subgroups, we treat as eleven separate language families (languages closely enough related to be adequately reconstructable by the comparative method). These eleven families are listed above. In the sections which follow, information is given on the daughter languages in each of these eleven language families.

KRU FAMILY

1.1.1. The Kru family consists of at least a half dozen languages (possibly eight languages) which are spoken by some 600,000 or 700,000 speakers living mainly in south-eastern Liberia and in the Ivory Coast as far east as the Sassandra River. In terms of larger numbers of speakers, Kru-Krawi, Bassa, and Bete are outstanding.

The present state of research on the Kru languages makes it very difficult to determine language boundaries. Welmers considers Kru, Bassa,

and De to be a dialect chain on the basis of mutual intelligibility at border-line areas. He agrees that Grebo is a distinct language, but Bete and Bakwe may be part of a complex dialect cluster that includes part of eastern Liberia. Westermann and Bryan (1952) list under their Kru group two dialect clusters, Bete and Bakwe, and a number of Kru-speaking tribes including Grebo, Kran, Kru-Kra, Bassa, De and Kwaa. From this it appears that Bete and Bakwe are separate languages, but the linguistic status of the other names is uncertain. Greenberg (1963) gives six names under his Kru group, which presumably represent six languages (numbers (1) through (6) below). Welmers' list is the same as Greenberg's with the addition of Krahn and Kwaa (our (7) and (8) respectively). Other problems of this kind are discussed in conjunction with the individual languages enumerated below. Population figures are taken mainly from W. E. Welmers, Westermann and Bryan, and the HRAF.

(1) Kru-Krawi (Mena Yu, Klao, Kra, Nanna Kru, Krao, Krawo), with 150,000 speakers, is spoken along the coast of Liberia, southeast of Monrovia to near the Ivory Coast border and extending 30 to 40 miles inland.

(2) Bassa (Basa, Basso, Gbasa), with 150,000 speakers, is spoken along the coast of Liberia and extending some 100 miles inland, southeast and east of Monrovia.

Bassa, Kru Krahn (see below), and other speech varieties appear to form a chain of mutually intelligible dialects, the extremes of which are, however, not mutually intelligible to any great extent. Hence Bassa and Kru are treated as separate languages. The status of Krahn remains uncertain.

The speech of the Sapo (Pahn, Sapahn), is said to be mutually intelligible with Grebo (see below) and Kru, but even closer to Bassa (HRAF).

(3) Grebo (Gweabo, Krebo), with less than 50,000 speakers, is spoken in Liberia, between the rivers Cess and Cavally, and extending into the Ivory Coast as well as inland for about 50 to 70 miles.

Tribal names associated with Grebo are Palipa, Barobo and Jabo (Dyabo). To these Murdock (HRAF) adds Tewi (Tepo).

Gweabo (see Bakwe below) and Jabo have been said by linguists (Sapir, Herzog) to be different languages from Grebo. However, Jabo has also been referred to as a section of Gweabo, and a native speaker of Grebo has identified 'Gweabo', as read from close phonetic transcription, as his own language.

(4) Bakwe, with 16,000 speakers, is spoken in the western part of the Kru language area in Liberia and in the Ivory Coast west of River Sassandra. The following dialects have been distinguished by Westermann and Bryan (1952):

Bakwe (Bakwo), with 2500 speakers, is spoken on the left bank of the Sassandra River, inland from the Hwane.

Hwane (Hwale, Hwile, Hwine, Bodo), number of speakers not known, is spoken on the coast, west of the Noyo as far as the Nonwa River.

Obwa, number of speakers not known, is spoken to the north of the Hwane, and very closely related.

Pya (Pye, Omelokwe), number of speakers not known, is spoken in the basin

of the San Pedro River west of the Hwane.

Abi (Abriwi, Aulo), number of speakers not known, is spoken on the coast south of the Pya.

Gweabo, number of speakers not known, is spoken adjacent to the Grebo on the Cavally River.

Tribal names associated with Gweabo are Nyabo (including the Pla), Nimiah, Bolokwe, Drebo (Tremble) and Gbwolo. To these Murdock (HRAF) adds the following: "Abriwi (Abrinyo), Bakwe proper, Bapo, Bokue (Bokwe, Bakuo), Debue, Digbue, Dioro, Grippuo, Guagui, Haulo, Hena, Hwine (Bodo, Hwanne, Houne, Hwane), Inemu, Irapue (Iribue), Irecao, Kapo (Kopo), Nedio, Nene, Nozo, Pia (Omelokue, Pya, Pie), Plawi (Blapo, Plapo), Prufa, Tabetuo (Tabetouo), Tahu, Toyo (Tuyo), Tuopo, Tuy, Urepo (Orepue), Uroko (Aulopo), and Yabue."

(5) Bete, with 150,000 - 220,000 speakers, is spoken in the Ivory Coast between rivers Sassandra in the east and Bandama in the west.

Westermann and Bryan give the following dialects:

Bete (Betegbo), with 153,000 speakers, is spoken north of the Godye and Kwadya from Kwati in the south to just beyond Lat. 7, and from Kweni country in the east to the Sassandra River in the west. Tribal names associated with this dialect include Loble, Dakuya, Guibono, Bobono, Zelmogbo and Yokogbo.

Dida (Wawi), with 56,000 speakers, is spoken in Cercle Lahou. This dialect is also spoken by the Lozwa, Yoko, Gobwa and Jivo.

Kwaya (Zegbe), number of speakers not known, is spoken in the valleys of the Rio Fresco and Yobehiri.

Godye (Godia, Go), with 2000 speakers, is spoken around Kotrou. This dialect is also spoken by the Legre, Baleko and Kotroku (Kotrahu).

Neyo (No, Newo, Nihiri, Newole), with 4500 speakers, is spoken on the coast between the Wawa and Fanoko Rivers, and on both banks of the Sassandra River as far as the rapids of Zelega. Tribal names associated with the Neyo dialect are Bokra (Bukra) and Kebe (Drewin).

Kwadya (Kwa, Kwadrewole), with 2000 speakers, is spoken on both banks of the Sassandra River from Grigibile to Kwati. This dialect resembles closely that of the Gibo of Maburi.

Bobwa (Waga, Wadye, Waya, Waa, Wobe, Ouobi), with 3200 speakers according to Labouret, but 29,000 according to Murdock (HRAF), is spoken in a narrow strip of territory between the Bete and the Bakwe in the south, and Mande-speaking tribes in the east, north and west.

In addition to the tribal names mentioned above, Murdock gives Niabua and Sokwele (Sokya).

(6) De (Dewoi, Do), number of speakers not known, is spoken west of Monrovia, Liberia. De is now being replaced by Gola and Vai which are West Atlantic and Mande languages respectively.

(7) Krahn (Kran, Pahn, Karan, Kra, Kraa), with possibly 100,000 speakers, located in Liberia between the Cess and Cavally Rivers, inland from the Kru, and extending into the Ivory Coast, although not mentioned by

Greenberg, is listed as a Kru-speaking tribe by Westermann and Bryan, and is considered a separate Kru language by Welmers. Tribal names associated with Krahn are Tchien (Tie, Gien, Kien), Neabo, Twabo (Te, Tepo) and Sapo (Sa).

(8) Kwaa (Belleh), with 25,000 speakers, located south of the Mande-speaking Bandi and Gbunde in Liberia, is listed by Westermann and Bryan, but not by Greenberg. The status of Kwaa as a language is uncertain.

LAGOON FAMILY

1.1.2. The Lagoon family includes at least eight languages, possibly as many as eleven: Aladian, Avikam, Gwa, Kyama, Akye, Ari, Abe, Adyukru, Ahizi, Metyibo, Abure. There are altogether from 120,000 to 160,000 speakers. All the Lagoon languages are spoken in the lagoon area of the Ivory Coast, between Grand Bassam and Grand Lahou.

Welmers notes that the criteria for or status of the units in the Lagoon family as separate languages is not at all well established. Our list of Lagoon languages agrees with Welmers', but is larger than Westermann and Bryan's by the inclusion of Adyukru. Our list also overlaps with Greenberg's, but adds Ahizi, Metyibo and Abure. Population figures are largely from Westermann and Bryan.

(1) Aladian (Aladyan, Alagian, Alladyan, Alagya, Aragya, Jackjack), with 7000 to 8000 speakers, is spoken in Cercle Abijan, on the narrow strip of land between the sea and Ebrié Lagoon, from Petit Bassam to Krafé.

(2) Avikam (Avekom, Brinya, Gbandu, Kwakwa, Lahu), with 7000 to 9000 speakers, is spoken west of the Aladian as far as Dibou, mainly at Grand Lahou. Many of the Avikam also speak Anyi of the Akan family.

(3) Gwa (Mbato, Mgbato, Potu, Agwa, Gwabyo), with 4000 to 6000 speakers, is spoken east of the Aladian, on Potou Lagoon in the vicinity of Bingerville.

(4) Kyama (Kiama, Ebrie, Gyuman, Tyaman), with 11,500 speakers, is spoken north of Ebrié Lagoon between the Comoë and Agnéby Rivers; also in a few places on the coast east of Petit Bassam. Kyama and Gwa appear to be very closely related.

(5) Akye (Attié, Atchi, Atshe, Kurobu), with 50,000 to 60,000 speakers, is spoken in the hinterland of the Comoë River, north of the Kyama and Gwa. Tribal names associated with Akye are Bode (Akye-Kotoko), Nedi (Memmi), Atobu, Ngadye and Kete.

(6) Ari (Abiji, Abidji, Adidji), with 6000 to 11,000 speakers, is spoken between the Bandama River and the Akye. Most Ari speakers understand Anyi of the Akan family. Ari contains many Adyukru (see Central Togo family below) and Anyi loan words.

(7) Abe (Abbey, Abi, Abbe, Aby), with 20,000 to 25,000 speakers, is spoken between the Bandama River and the Akye, north of the Ari. Many Abe speakers understand Anyi.

(8) Adyukru (Ajukru, Adioukrou, Adjukru, Agyukru, Burburi, Ogyukru), with 20,000 to 30,000 speakers, is spoken in Cercle Lagunes north of Ebrié

Lagoon around Dabu and Toupa. Greenberg classifies Adyukru as Kwa, but Westermann and Bryan classify it as West Atlantic. Welmers thinks Adyukru may be a monotypic branch (within Niger-Congo or Kwa ?) by itself.

(9) Ahizi (Aizi), with probably less than 10,000 speakers, is spoken on Ebrié Lagoon between Dabu and Krafi. Greenberg does not mention Ahizi and Westermann and Bryan think it may possibly be a Kru dialect, although they list it as a member of the Lagoon group.

(10) Metyibo (Mekibo, Vetere, Vetre, Ewutere, Ewuture, Byetri, Papaire, Agua) with 3000 to 4000 speakers, is spoken on the lagoons of Assinie and Grand Bassam. Greenberg classifies Metyibo as Akan.

(11) Abure (Abouré, Akapless, Abonwa), with 7000 to 8000 speakers, is spoken west of Abi Lagoon as far as Grand Bassam. Greenberg classifies Abure as Akan.

AKAN FAMILY

1.1.3. The Akan languages clearly constitute a genetic family. They are spoken in the southern part of Ghana, in Togo, and in the Ivory Coast north of the Lagoon family as far west as the Bandama River. In terms of numbers of speakers, all three separate languages — Twi-Fante, Anyi-Baule, and Guang — can be considered to fall in the class of important languages. Greenberg includes Metyibo and Abure in the Akan family. Others classify these two languages as Lagoon, as we have done (1.1.2, above).

(1) Twi-Fante, with over 1,000,000 speakers according to Westermann

and Bryan, but 2,000,000 according to Welmers, is spoken in Ghana between the Tano and Volta Rivers. The main dialects are as follows:

Akwapem (Akuapem, Akwapim), spoken in the southeast of the Twi area.

Akwapem is known as Twi proper.

Akem (Akyem), spoken west and northwest of the Akwapem.

Asante (Ashanti), spoken northwest of the Akem.

Fante (Fanti), spoken on the coast between the Adangme and Ahanta.

Twi and Fante have come to be known as distinct languages because they have separate written traditions. They are, however, mutually intelligible dialects. Akan has come to be a popular designation for Akwapem-Fante, as has Ashanti for Akem-Asante.

(2) Anyi-Baule (Agni-Baoulé), with approximately 450,000 speakers, is spoken in the Ivory Coast, north of the Lagoon languages, east of the Bandama River, and in the adjoining part of Ghana. Anyi-Baule can be divided into two main dialect groups as follows:

Anyi Dialects (80,000 speakers)

Nzima (Nzema, Amanyā, Asoko, Zimba, Awa, Gura), spoken in Ghana and the Ivory Coast between Ankobra and Assinie with a few coastal colonies west of Assinie.

Ahanta (Anta), spoken east of the Nzima, and very closely related to them.

Afema (Samwi, Sāwi), spoken in the lagoon area of the Ivory Coast, and also very closely related to Nzima.

The following smaller dialects are also closely akin to the above: Pepisa,

Aowin, Jomoro (Ajomora) and Valwa (Evalwe).

Anufo₁ (Brusa, Brissa, Buressya), spoken north of the Nzima on the Tanno River and Lagoon.

Anufo₂ (Chakosi, Tiokossi), spoken in northern Togo and Ghana. Geographically it is considerably separated from the other Anyi-Baule dialects.

Betye, spoken on the right bank of the Comoë River, and in a few villages on the left bank.

Ndenye, spoken between the Comoë River and the Ghanian border.

Safwi (Assaye), spoken on the Ghana-Ivory Coast border east of the Ndenye.

Dyabe, spoken at Assikasso.

Baule dialect (370,000 speakers).

Moronu, spoken between the Nzi and Comoë Rivers in the Ivory Coast.

Wure (Worye), spoken north of the Moronu.

Baule (Bowli), spoken between the Nzi and Bandama Rivers.

Nganu (Ngano, Gara, Anno), spoken in Cercle Baoulé, around M'Bahiakro.

Ndame, spoken northwest of the Bonna between the Comoë River and the Ghanian border.

Bonna (Bonda, Bonnali, Monnai, Bwanda), spoken on the Ghanian border between Assikasso and the Brong.

Dadyessu, spoken in the Aouwin District, Ghana.

Sikasso-Nyarene, spoken east of Assikasso.

Binye (Binik), spoken east of the Comoë River, south of the Brong, and north of the Afema.

Some tribal names associated with the Anyi-Baule dialects include the Arichin, Asaye (Sadqi), Betye (Betie), Binye (Bini), Bonna (Bonda), Brisa, Buresya, Dadye (Asikaso, Diabe), Kumwe, Moro (Morunu), Ndenye, Sanwi (Brofi, Samvign), Sefwi, Sika, Attie (Akye, Attye) and Krobu (Kuroba, Kurobu).

(3) Guang (Gonja, Gwanja, Gbanya, Gbandja, Gibya, Ngbangje, Ngbanye), with less than 50,000 speakers according to Welmers, but well over 100,000 according to Murdock, is spoken mainly in the Gonja District of Ghana. Guang dialects include:

Guang, spoken in the Gonja District, Ghana.

Nawuri (Nawuru, Nkatshina), spoken between the lower Oti and Daka Rivers.

Atyoti (Atjuti, Atyodi), spoken north of the Adele, east of the Oti River.

Anyanga (Agnagan, Anyana), spoken between the Togo Mts. and the Mono River.

Ncumuru, spoken north of Krachi.

Krachi (Kratschi, Kratyi), spoken between Salaga and Buëm.

Nkunya (Kunja, Kunya), spoken on the left bank of the Volta.

Nkami (Gabi), spoken on the right bank of the Volta.

Anum, spoken north of Akwamu.

Boso, spoken north of Akwamu.

Late, spoken in Akwapem.

Afutu, spoken on the coast.

Gomoa, spoken on the coast, in Fante country.

Brong (Abrong, Abron), with 21,500 speakers according to Welmers, but 100,000 according to Murdock (HRAF), spoken west of the Volta, mainly south of the Pru River around Atebubu, and also farther west.

Beri, spoken in the Ivory Coast in the village of Taghadi.

Additional tribal names associated with the Guang include the Basa (Ayesegn), Chimboro (Agnamkpase, Cangborong, Nchumbulung, Nchumuru, Tchangbore, Tchimboro), Nta (Bole, Bore, Daboya, Inta) and the Chumbuli (Bassen, Tchummbuli) (HRAF).

GÃ-ADANGME FAMILY

1.1.4. The Gã-Adangme family consists of two very closely related languages — Gã and Adangme — spoken by about 250,000 speakers in Ghana, particularly in the capital city of Accra and in the immediate vicinity, where Gã is the major language. According to Welmers, the present speakers of Gã were at one time part of the same group as the Adangme to the northeast. In historic times, there was a general movement of people into Accra as a commercial and governmental center, leaving a sparsely populated area between Accra and the present Adangme area. Gã has acquired so many borrowed words that Adangme people find it difficult to understand. Speakers of Gã probably have less difficulty understanding Adangme.

Westermann and Bryan consider Gã-Adangme to be a single dialect cluster consisting of the following dialects:

Gã, spoken in Accra and vicinity, in the Anecho area in Togo, and along the

coast of Dahomey where the dialect is known as Gẽ (Gain, Anima).

Adangme (Adangbe), spoken in the town of Ada and the immediate hinterland of the Gã.

Krobo (Klo), spoken north of Gã and Adangme.

Murdock agrees with Welmers that Gã and Adangme are separate languages. Additional dialect names associated with Adangme are Ada (Adda), Kpone, Ningbo (Nigo, Nungu), Osuduku, Prampram (Gbugbla) and Shai (Se).

EWE FAMILY

1.1.5. The Ewe family includes two languages, Ewe and Fõ, spoken by over 1,000,000 speakers in Togo, Dahomey, and the southeastern corner of Ghana.

(1) Ewe distinguishes the following dialects:

Awuna (Anlo), spoken by about 5000 speakers in the coastal villages between the Volta and Lome.

Gẽ (Guingbe, Gaingbe, Mina), spoken in Togo, Cercle Anecho, between Lome and Ouidah (Whydah, Peda), by 62,000 speakers.

Watyi (Ouatchi), spoken in Cercle Anecho, also in Atakpame, and in Dahomey in the Athiémé-Grand Pomo region, by 124,000 speakers.

Aja (Adya, Adja), spoken in the Tokpli area on the left bank of the Mono in Togo, and into Dahomey, by over 3000 speakers.

Gũ (Alada, Goun, Egun), spoken in southeastern Dahomey with main center Porto Novo.

Mahi, spoken by 12,000 speakers north of Fõ.

(2) Fõ (Fon, Fongbe, Dahomeen, Djedji) is considered by many to be a dialect of Ewe. It is spoken in the southern part of Dahomey. The Fon and Aja together number 836,000. Gũ and Mahi are more closely related to Fõ than to any other Ewe speech varieties according to Westermann and Bryan.

Other names associated with Ewe are Popo, Hula (Pea), Peda, Glidyi and Ho.

CENTRAL TOGO FAMILY

1.1.6. The Central Togo family (called 'Togorestsprachen' by Westermann) consists of fifteen languages spoken — by about 65,000 altogether — in central Togo, mainly in the Buëme district.

(1) Avatime (Siyase), number of speakers not known, is spoken in seven villages in the hills of central Togo. Murdock states that Avatime, Logba, Nyangbo and Tafi are mutually intelligible.

(2) Nyangbo (Batrugbu), with less than 2000 speakers, is spoken in a few localities in the neighborhood of the Avatime.

(3) Tafi (Bagbo), with less than 1000 speakers, is spoken in four localities near the Avatime. Nyangbo and Tafi may possibly be dialects.

(4) Logba (Sekpana), with less than 2000 speakers, is spoken north and northeast of the Avatime.

(5) Ahlõ (Ago), with under 1000 speakers, is spoken in the central Togo hills northeast of the Likpe near the source of the Dayi River.

(6) Lefana (Lelemi) has less than 3000 speakers. It is spoken in the Buëm district and in the town of Borada.

(7) Bowili (Siwuri), with about 600 speakers, is spoken in a few localities in the Buëm district.

(8) Akpafu (Siwu) is spoken in the Buëm district on a ridge between the central Togo hills and the Nkunya hills by about 1500 speakers.

(9) Santrokofi (Sele) is spoken in southern Buëm by less than 1000 speakers.

(10) Adele (Sedere) is spoken north of the Kposo. The number of speakers, including the tribes Adele, Delo and Lolo, is said to be 'a few thousand' (HRAF).

(11) Kposo (Akposo, Ikposo) is spoken west of Atakpame in Togo by an estimated 30,000 speakers including 'the dialectally distinct Sodo' (HRAF).

(12) Kebu (Kagbarika, Akabu, Akebu, Ekbebe, Kabu), with about 14,000 speakers, is spoken north of the Kposo in Togo, west of Kpessi. Both Kebu and Kposo are listed as isolated units by Westermann and Bryan.

(13) Anyimere is mentioned by both Greenberg and Welmers, but no further information is given.

(14) Likpe (Sekpele, Likpele, Mu), is spoken in six localities east of Buëm by about 3000 speakers.

(15) Lolobi is spoken in two localities south of the Akpafu and east of the Santrokofi. The number of speakers is not known. Greenberg mentions neither Likpe nor Lolobi.

YORUBA-EDO FAMILY

1.1.7. The Yoruba-Edo language family consists of eleven languages spoken mainly in Nigeria, but also in Dahomey and Togo, by approximately 4,000,000 speakers altogether. Yoruba, Igala, Igbira, Bini, and Sobo are spoken by very large populations. The chief sources for our population figures for specific languages are Westermann and Bryan.

Yoruba-Edo has two main branches, the Yoruba branch including three languages — Yoruba, Igala, and Igbira — and the Edo branch including eight languages — Bini, Ishan, Kukuruku, Sobo and four others spoken by fewer speakers.

(1) Yoruba, with well over 3,000,000 speakers, is spoken in southwestern Nigeria, west of the Niger Delta, and inland for about 200 miles to the middle Niger. It is also spoken in Dahomey and Togo. Dialect and tribal divisions correspond approximately. Both tribal and dialect names are listed here:

Oyo-Ibadan-Efe (Yoruba Proper, Standard Yoruba), spoken mainly in Oyo Province.

Ijebu, a fairly divergent dialect, spoken mainly in Ijebu Province and Colony.

Ekiti, spoken mainly in Ondo Province, extending into Ilorin and Benin Provinces.

Ondo, spoken south of the Ekiti in Ondo Province.

Egba, spoken in Abeokuta Province, and in Dahomey and Togo.

Ilorin, spoken in Ilorin Province.

Yagba.

Itsekiri (Jekri, Ishekiri, Shekiri, Jekiri), a fairly divergent dialect, spoken mainly in Warri Province, but also elsewhere.

Lagos.

Other perhaps lesser known dialects include Ife, Ijesha, Ila, Owo, Aworo (Akanda), Bunu (Eki), Owe, Jumu, Iworo, Igbona, Akoko and Gbedde.

(2) Igala (Igara), with probably less than 100,000 speakers, is spoken in the Igala Division of Kabba Province, and in the Idoma Division of Benue Province.

(3) Igbira (Igbirra, Kwotto) is spoken mainly in Kabba Province, around the Niger-Benue confluence, by about 150,000 speakers. The following dialects have been distinguished:

Igbira-Panda (Igbira-Lele, Kwotto, Umaisha Igbira), on the Benue-Kabba Province border.

Igbira-Hima (Ihima, Okene Igbira), in Aworo Division, Kabba Province.

Igbira-Igu (Egu, Ika, Bira, Biri, Igbira-Rehe), in southern Niger Province.

Igara, in the village of Igara in Kukuruku country near the Semolika.

Westermann and Bryan classify Igbira together with Nupe-Gbari.

(4) Bini (Edo), with about 100,000 speakers, is spoken in Benin, Warri, and Ondo Provinces, extending into Owerri and Colony.

(5) Ishan (Esa, Isa) is spoken north of the Bini in Ishan Division, Benin Province, by over 90,000 speakers.

(6) Kukuruku is spoken by about 125,000 speakers in Benin and Kabba Provinces. Information on dialects is scanty, but the following names may be noted: Auchi, Fuga, Wano, Ibilo, Semolika, Ibie-Okpepe, Otwa and Ora.

(7) Sobo (Urhobo), is spoken in Warri Province by about 110,000 speakers. Sobo dialects are spoken by the Urhobo, Okpara-Agbado, Erohwa, Evhro and Okpe.

(8) Isoko (Igabo) is spoken in the eastern part of Urhobo Division, Warri Province. It is very closely related to Sobo.

(9) Atisa

(10) Degema

(11) Engenni

Information on the above four languages is very scanty. These languages are apparently spoken by a few hundred or at most a few thousand speakers each; they are all located in the Niger Delta. Neither Greenberg nor Westermann and Bryan mention Atisa, Degema, or Engenni.

NUPE-GBARI FAMILY

1.1.8. The Nupe-Gbari family includes three languages — Gade besides Nupe and Gbari — spoken by at least 480,000 speakers in Nigeria (north of the Yoruba, Bini, and Igbo). Nupe is spoken by about 68% of all Nupe-Gbari speakers. Igbira, which appears as a major language in the Yoruba-Edo family (1.1.7, above), is classified by Greenberg and Westermann and Bryan with Nupe and Gbari.

(1) Nupe is spoken in Ilorin and Niger Provinces, north of the Yoruba on both banks of the Niger, with main center Bida, by about 325,000 speakers.

Nupe dialects include:

Nupe Proper.

Ebe (Abewa, Agalati, Anupe), spoken in Kontagora Division, Niger Province.

Dibo (Ganagana), spoken in southeastern Niger Province.

Bassa-Nge (Ibara), spoken in Bassange District, Igala Division.

Kupa (Kupanchi, Gupa), on the south bank of the Niger near the Kakanda.

Kakanda (Akanda), spoken in Kabba Province, on the south bank of the Niger.

Kakanda may possibly be a separate language.

According to Murdock, the following tribal names are also associated with Nupe: Beni (Bini), Batachi, Nupe Zam, Ebagi, Gbedye, Cakpang, Kusopa, Benu and Gwagba.

(2) Gbari (Gwari, Gwali, Goali), with 155,000 speakers, is spoken in Zaria, Benue, and Niger Provinces, north of the Niger-Benue confluence.

The dialects, which apparently vary considerably, are:

Gbari Gyenguen (Matai, Gangan);

Gbari Yamma of Paiko;

Gbari Yamma Gayegi;

Gbari Kangye (Kwange).

(3) Gade (Kyedye) is mentioned by Greenberg and some other scholars, but no details are available.

IDOMA FAMILY

1.1.9. The four languages of the Idoma family are spoken by some 190,000 speakers in Nigeria. Idoma is the most important of these, in terms of number of speakers; the other three are Iyala, Arago, and Agatu.

There is considerable divergence of opinion as to what constitutes the Idoma family.. Westermann and Bryan exclude Iyala. Welmers includes Idoma with Yoruba. We follow Greenberg with some modification. Our population figures are taken mostly from Westermann and Bryan.

The term Idoma, as we use it, is not to be confused with its usages to designate part of the Igala and a section of the Igbira.

(1) Idoma is spoken by about 118,000 speakers (an unreliable figure), in Idoma Division, Benue Province, Nigeria. The following dialects may be distinguished:

Otukpo

Igumale

Okwoga

Otukpa.

(2) Iyala (Yala), possibly including Orri and Ukelle (which latter Greenberg classifies as Benue Congo), is spoken by 51,000 speakers in Nigeria. Specifically, Iyala is spoken by 22,500, Orri by 8500, and Ukelle by 20,000. R. G. Armstrong believes Orri and Iyala are different languages. Iyala, Orri, and Ukelle may constitute a single language — related to Tiv

(Benue Congo), according to Westermann and Bryan. It is possible that Yache, a name concerning which we have only a population figure of 6600 (1937), may also be so related.

(3) Arago of Lafia Emirate is spoken by some 13,000 speakers.

Greenberg does not mention Arago.

(4) Agatu, listed by Westermann and Bryan as an Idoma dialect, may be a separate language. The number of speakers is not known.

IBO FAMILY

1.1.10. Ibo (Igbo) is the sole member of this family. It is spoken in southern Nigeria by well over 3,000,000 speakers. Dialectal and regional differences correspond roughly, as follows:

Onitsha (Northern Ibo), with subdialects Nri-Awka and Enugu.

Owerri (Southern Ibo), with subdialects Isu-Ama, Oratta-Ikwerri, Ohuhu-Ngwa, and Isu-Item.

Ika (Western Ibo), with subdialects Northern Ika, Southern Ika (Kwale), and 'Riverain'.

Cross River (Eastern Ibo), with subdialects Ada (Edda), Abam-Ohaffia, and Aro.

Ogu Uku (Northeastern Ibo).

IJO FAMILY

1.1.11. The Ijo speech communities, with some 160,000 speakers in

southwestern Nigeria, have been so little investigated that all questions of classification remain open — e.g. whether the speech communities are separate languages, or dialects of one language; and their genetic affiliations, if any, remain uncertain. Most scholars consider Ijo (Ijaw, Ijoh) as being linguistically isolated — i.e. related to no other African family. We tentatively include Ijo in the Kwa phylum (after Greenberg), and regard it as a language family in this phylum. Below are listed five names which may possibly represent five separate languages:

- (1) Western Ijo comprising Atissa, Mimi, and Warri.
- (2) Upper Ijo (Ijo Proper).
- (3) Kalabari, including Okrikan, in the east.
- (4) Nembe-Brass.
- (5) Lower Ijo.

ADAMAWA-EASTERN PHYLUM

1.2. Adamawa-Eastern is a phylum constituent of the Niger-Congo Macro Phylum. But it is an uncomfortable phylum, a dubious classification. To be well fitting as a phylum, it should be possible to list language families which are so related internally as to be reconstructable in detail, and closely enough related externally (one family to the other) that their similarities turn out to be greater than random similarities.

The first condition may be satisfied if one is willing to say that the two languages of Group I, Tula and Waja (see below) are members of one language family, while the five languages of Group II (see below) are members of another language family which may be reconstructed in depth, and that the uncertain number of languages in Group III (see below) are likewise reconstructable, and the dozen or so languages of Group IV are also reconstructable, and that the five languages (or five dialects of one language) in Group V are easily reconstructable, and that the half dozen or more languages of Group VI are also reconstructable, and that the languages or dialects of Groups VIII and XII and XIV will turn out to be other language families including more than one language (as Group IX which includes two languages, and Group XIII which includes some half dozen languages) or else single languages representing branches as such (as Group X, and possibly Group XI, below).

Whether or not the second condition can be satisfied cannot be determined until the 'groups' (language families) are reconstructed. Preliminary to this, individual languages across family boundaries have been examined, and more than random similarities have been observed — not only among the 'groups' (families) within the Adamawa-Eastern phylum, but among the languages in this

phylum and the languages in other phyla and families of the Niger-Congo Macro-phylum. The history of this examination shows the expectable agreement among the examiners in respect to languages largely awaiting future analysis. The differences among our sources are not concerned so much with whether a given language (so far as information is obtainable) be included in one or another family within the Adamawa-Eastern phylum but whether a given language belongs to the Adamawa-Eastern phylum at all.

One of the important points of difference between Westermann's Western Sudanic and Greenberg's Niger-Congo is the inclusion by the latter of the Adamawa-Eastern 'subgroup'.

Since the system of noun classification by pairs of affixes is the outstanding morphological characteristic of Niger-Congo, according to Greenberg, it is particularly interesting to see how the Adamawa-Eastern languages exhibit this opposition. The noun class system in these languages is either very fragmentary—the number of suffixes ranging from roughly one to six—or entirely absent. In only a very few languages do the suffixes fall into singular/plural pairs.

Correspondences in vocabulary between Adamawa-Eastern and other Niger-Congo languages are rather numerous according to Greenberg.

Although it is impossible either to deny or to confirm Greenberg's classification of Adamawa-Eastern, there is sufficient reason to be skeptical, since there is not yet enough evidence to ensure the status of Adamawa-Eastern as a phylum (much less as a family) within Niger-Congo. Nor is it at all certain that some of these languages are not Chari-Nile.

We therefore tentatively include Adamawa-Eastern, in terms of its presumably sporadic reconstructability, as a phylum within Niger-Congo.

It is very difficult to determine language boundaries (with reference to intelligibility) in this phylum, due to the present state of incompleteness of research on the descriptive level. Among the numerically important languages in the group are Chamba, Donga, Vere, Yungur, Longuda, Fali, Gbaya, Ngbandi, Sango, and Zande. Our population figures are mainly from Westermann and Bryan, and Tucker and Bryan.

Greenberg divides his Adamawa-Eastern languages into two main groups. Below are listed, according to his subgroups, the languages of the Adamawa section.

Group I

(1) Tula (Kotule) is spoken in Bauchi Province in the southeastern part of Gombe Division by over 19,000 speakers. The Dadia (listed by Greenberg), with about 2,300 speakers, speak a Tula dialect.

(2) Waja is spoken northeast of the Tula by some 20,000 speakers.

Two other names listed by Greenberg in this group are Cham and Kamu.

Group II

(1) Chamba

(2) Donga (Dengo)

(3) Lekon (Chamba Lekon)

(4) Mumbake (Mubako, Nyongnepa)

(5) Wom (Pereba, Zagai)

The above five languages, in some cases perhaps dialects, are spoken in Adamawa Province in the Cameroons and in Nigeria by less than 50,000 speakers according to Welmers, or even less than 20,000 according to Murdock. Kolbila (see Group IV below) and Bali-ndagan are generally also closely associated with these languages.

Group III

(1) Daka (Tucker and Bryan's Chamba Daka?) is spoken mainly in Adamawa Province by the following groups:

Chamba Daka in Muri Emirate and the Cameroons.

Chamba Tsugu

Chamba of Nassarao

Lamja of Maio Faran

To this list Murdock adds the Dirrim, Gandole, and Taram sub-tribes.

(2) Taram, classified as a separate (language?) by Greenberg.

Murdock gives a population figure of 3,000 for this entire group excluding the Dirrim.

Group IV

(1) Durru (Duru) is spoken in the Cameroons between the Benue and Faro Rivers, also east of the Benue among the Mbum by 2,000 speakers.

(2) Sari is spoken on the Sari massif north of the Durru. The number of speakers is not known.

(3) Pape, with 3500 speakers, is spoken near the Sari, south and west of the Namshi.

(4) Namshi (Namji, Namtchi) is spoken by 11,000 speakers near Poli.

(5) Woko (Voko, Boko), with 1,000 speakers, is spoken southeast of the Namshi.

(6) Kotopo (Kotofo, Kotpojo), with an undetermined number of speakers, is spoken in the Kontcha area, east and west of the Mao Deo River.

(7) Koma is spoken west of the Mao Deo River by 3,000 speakers. Greenberg does not mention Koma (not to be confused with Koma of East Sudan).

(8) Kutin is spoken west of the Nyal River by some 400 speakers.

Westermann and Bryan list the above eight speech forms as dialects of a single cluster, but Welmers thinks they may be distinct languages.

(9) Vere(Verre, Were, Yere) is spoken in the Vere District on the Nigeria-Cameroons border. The number of speakers in Nigeria is 11,000.

The Vere altogether number about 18,500 on about 500 square miles (Temple), between 9,000 and 10,000 (Meek). They are composed of the following local groups: Bai, Boi, Gweri, Koma, Kwoi, Lima (with Dongorong), Marki, Sablo, Togi (Tuki), Ugi, Vamni, and Zango (HRAF).

(10) Kolbila is spoken adjacent to the Durru in the Cameroons. The number of speakers is not known. Westermann and Bryan list Kolbila as a Chamba dialect.

(11) Sewe is also listed in this group by Greenberg. We have no details.

Group V

The languages or dialects of this group are spoken by an undetermined number of speakers over 80,000, mainly in Muri Division, Adamawa Province, Nigeria.

(1) Gengle

(2) Teme

(3) Kumba (Yofo, Kuseki, Sate)

The above are all spoken in the Mayo Beleva District.

(4) Waka

(5) Yendang, 2,000 speakers.

Waka and Yendang are spoken east of Zinna in the Bajama District.

Most scholars feel that the five above named speech forms are probably dialects along with several others including Bali, Passam and Kugama.

(6) Mumuye, spoken in the same general area as those listed above, includes the following closely interrelated dialects:

Pugu (Hill Mumuye)

Ding-ding

Yakoko

Gola

Bajama

Zinna, listed separately by Greenberg.

Group VI

The languages of this group are spoken over a wide area in the Cameroons, extending into Chad.

(1) Mundang has over 45,000 speakers for the Lere dialect, plus a few for the Gelama dialect. Welmers notes that Gelama may be a distinct language.

(2) Yasing (Yassing, Jassing) is spoken by 25,000 speakers. Westermann and Bryan call it a Mundang dialect but Welmers thinks that it is probably a distinct language.

(3) Mangbai (Mangbei) is spoken in Guidar and Garoua subdivisions in the Cameroons, and in one village in Chad. Total number of speakers is about 4,000.

(4) Mono (Dama-Mono) is spoken northeast of Rei Ruba. The number of speakers is not known.

(5) Mbum, with some 20,000 speakers, is spoken in widely scattered areas mainly between Tibati in the southwest and the area northeast of Ngaoundere. Westermann and Bryan give the following dialects:

Njal

Babal

Nger (Mbere, Laka Mbere, perhaps Greenberg's Lakka)

Tiba

Pani (perhaps same as Pana below)

Pere (Kepere, Kper, Ripere...)

The Dek may also belong in the above group of dialects.

(6) Kari (Kare, Kali) is spoken in the Cameroons, Kare Mountains, east of Rei Buba by an undetermined number of speakers. It is also spoken by about 40,000 speakers in Chad, between Lia and Pawa, divided into three dialects:

Tali

Pana

Gunje

These last three may be distinct languages according to Welmers.

(7) Kera is spoken north and south of Lake Tikem by 15,000 speakers.

(8) Tupuri (Ndore) is spoken by over 85,000 speakers divided into two dialects as follows:

Kaele

Yagoua- (in the Cameroons) Flanga-Chala (in Chad).

Tupuri and Kera may not be separate languages.

Greenberg mentions neither Kari, Kera, nor Tupuri.

Group VII

Yungur (Lala) is spoken in the Yungur district, Adamawa Province, Nigeria, and in adjacent areas, by the Roba, Mboi, Handa, Tambu, Subktu, Pura (Birra), and Binna. The total population of the above groups is at least 30,000. Greenberg's list for this group includes only Yungur, Roba, Mboi and an additional name Libo. More than one language may be involved.

Group VIII

Kam (no details available).

Group IX

(1) Jen (Dza) is spoken by probably less than 10,000 speakers on the north bank of the Benue River in Adamawa Province, Nigeria.

(2) Munga, spoken in the same area as Jen, may in fact not be a separate language.

Group X

Longuda (Nunguda) is spoken in Adamawa and Banchi Provinces of Nigeria by some 12,000 speakers. There are at least two dialects spoken by the Hill and Plains Longuda respectively.

Group XI

Fali, with about 44,000 speakers, is spoken mainly in the Cameroons, northward from Garoua. The following list may represent not only dialects but possibly several languages:

Fali of Bouzoum, 11,600 speakers.

Fali of Peske, Bori, and Zabkar, 8,200 speakers.

Fali of Durbayi, 5,600 speakers.

Fali of Kangu, Tingelin plateau and Banayo, 18,000 speakers.

Group XII

Nimbari (no details available).

Group XIII

The languages of this group are spoken in Chad and Central African Republic.

(1) Nielim (Niellim, Nyilem) is spoken on the left bank of the Chari River south of the Bua, also in the Fort Archambault area, by probably less than 2,000 speakers.

(2) Bua (Boa, Boua), with 5,000 to 10,000 speakers, is spoken in the Korbol area and in the Melfi district.

(3) Koke (Khoke) is spoken in the Melfi District near Daguela by less than 1,000 speakers.

Miltu and Sarwa are in this group according to Tucker and Bryan. We list them (after Greenberg) with the Chad languages. Other languages possibly belonging to this group, or to the Chad group, and not listed by Greenberg include:

(4) Tunya (Tunia, Tounia), spoken north of Fort Archambault by about 800 speakers;

(5) Dai (Day) spoken in former Moyen-Chari in a few villages south of Koumra by about 600 speakers;

(6) Buso, in the town of Bousso, spoken by 40 to 50 smiths;

(7) Fanya (Fana, Fania, Fanian, Mana, Kobe), with over 1,000 speakers located in the Melfi District between Boli and Lake Iro, may be related to this group also.

Group XIV

Masa (no details available).

The languages of the Eastern section are listed below in eight groups.

Group I

(1) Gbaya (Baya, Baja, Ngbaka, Bwaka)

(2) Manja (Mandja, Mandjia)

(3) Mbaka (Ngbaka Mabo, Ngbaka Limba)

These languages are spoken by at least 300,000 speakers in Central African Republic, northwestern Congo, and the Cameroons. Tucker and Bryan (1956)

consider them all to be dialects. Their list of dialects (coincident with tribal names) includes:

Manja Baya

Mbaka (Mandjia Bakka), with 17,000 speakers.

Kaka

Mombe (Baka Mombe)

Manja Baba

Ngbaka Gbaya

Ngbaka Manja

Granu (Banu, Baya Banou)

Budigri, with 5,000 speakers.

Bagba, with 5,500 speakers.

Ali (Gbee), with 2,000 speakers;

Gbofi

Gbaya Bianda

Gbaya Bokoto

Gbaya Buli Bukum

Gbaya Kaka

Bangando, with 2,700 speakers;

Ngombekaka

Yangele, with 2,750 speakers;

Bokari

Somo

Graya Buli

Gbaya Lai

Gbaya Bodomo

Gbaya Kara (Kala)

(faint text) Group II

The sole member of this group according to Greenberg is Banda, but Tucker and Bryan also add Golo (see Group V below). Banda is spoken mainly in Central African Republic, Congo and adjacent territories, by an estimated 321,000 speakers, divided into the following major dialects or tribes:

Dakpa, with 5,700 speakers.

Vora

Mbanja, with 70,000 to 80,000 speakers.

Sabanga, with four hundred speakers

Ngbundu, with 9,000 speakers.

Yangere, with 14,000 speakers.

Linda, with 27,000 speakers.

Gbwende (Bende, Bendi, Bindi, Gbindi)

Banda, with 88,000 speakers.

Belingo (Bilingo)

Togbo (Tagbo), with 5,500 speakers.

Ngura (Ungourra)

Nyele (Ndele, Ndere, Ngele)

Wada (Ouadda)

Lagba

Gbaga (Baga, G'bagga, M'bagga)

Bongo

Jeto (Djeto, Djoteau)

Wasa (Ouassa)

Ngapu (Ngapou), with 650 speakers

Ndokpwa (Ndakpwa, Ndokoua, Ndopa)

Ngaja (Ngadja)

Mbele (Mbire)

Mbi

Mbulu (Mboulou)

Buru (Borou, Brou, Mbrou, Mbru)

Yakpa (Yacoua, Yakpwa, Yakwa), with 26,000 speakers.

Mono (Amono), with over 23,000 speakers.

Tagbali

Nyele (Ndri)

Langvasi (Langbase, Langbasse), including the Langbase, Mbugu (Bubu, Gbugbu, Mbogu, Mbubu), Langba, and Gobu (Gabou, Ngobo, Ngobu). The Langbase number 3,000, the Mbugu 37,000.

The following may also be Banda - speaking tribes:

Ndi

Ka (Kha)

Baba (Gbaba)

Ngao (Ngawo)

Tambago (Tambaggo, Tombaggo)

Bria (Mbria)

Mvedere (Vidri, Vedere)

Mbala

Junguru (Djingbura)

Group III

(1) Ngbandi (Mongbwandi, Mongvandi), with an estimated 137,000 speakers, is spoken in northwestern Congo. Ngbandi dialects are spoken by the Dondo and Bwato, Abasango, Bangi, Dendi, Nzomboi (Monjomboli), Mbaati, and Mongvandi.

(2) Sango "is a lingua franca widely used throughout northwestern Congo and Ubangi-Chari...It is based on the Ngbandi dialect spoken by the Sango, but contains many French and Bantu words." The total number of people using this language, at least for limited purposes, may well be over a million.

(3) Yakoma is spoken at Yakoma, Central African Republic, by some 5,300 speakers. Tucker and Bryan consider Yakoma to be a dialect of Ngbandi. They also mention Mongoba, with about 50 speakers, and Kazibati, with 365 speakers, in connection with this group of languages.

Group IV

(1) Barambo (Barambu, Abarambo, Balambu), is spoken in the Poko, Ango, and Dungu Territories, Congo, and in the Sudan, by about 46,000 speakers.

(2) Pambia (Apambia) is spoken in the Sudan, near Yambio (by 2,900 speakers), and in Central African Republic (number of speakers not known).

(3) Nzakara (Ansakara, N'sakara, Sakara, Zakara) is spoken in northwestern Congo by 3,000 speakers. The number of speakers outside Congo (Leopoldville) is not known. Tucker and Bryan consider Nzakara along with Patri and Dio (Adio, Makaraka) (the latter with about 400 speakers), to be Zande dialects.

(4) Zande (Azande, Sande, Nyam-Nyam...) is spoken by over 700,000 speakers, mainly in Congo, but also in Sudan and other adjoining areas. Zande is fairly uniform except for the dialects mentioned above under (3).

Group V

(1) Bwaka (Ngbaka Mabo, Gwaka...), not to be confused with (3) of

Group I above, is spoken by over 17,000 speakers outside Congo and an unknown number within northwestern Congo.

(2) Bangba

(3) Mayogo

Tucker and Bryan call the above two speech forms dialects along with the following:

Mayugo, with 30,000 speakers.

Majügü, with 10,000 speakers.

Makyo (Maiko), with 1,000 speakers, also spoken by the Dai (Day, Angai).

Mayogo, with only a few speakers, also spoken by the Maambi, the Bakango of the Uele River, and the Bakango of the Bomokandi River.

Mangbele, with over 5,000 speakers.

Bangba (Abangba), with 29,000 speakers.

Mayogo and Bangba are spoken by over 75,000 speakers in northeastern Congo, mainly around Paulis and also south of Niangara.

(4) Gbanziri is spoken northwest of Banzyville, Congo, by at least 865 speakers. The main dialects are Gbanziri and Buraka. Other minor tribal names associated with this language are Gundi, Bayaka, Ganzi and Mbacca.

(5) Monjombo (Mondjembo, Monzombo, Modjembo) is spoken in Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), and Congo (Leopoldville), by 13,000 speakers.

(6) Mundu (Mondo, Mondu), with about 5,000 speakers, is spoken in northeastern Congo and in the Sudan.

(7) Kpala (Kpwala, Gbakpwa) is spoken in northwestern Congo. Number of speakers not known. Greenberg does not mention Kpala.

Group VI

(1) Ndogo is spoken mainly in the Western District of the Sudan by about 3,500 speakers. It is spoken as a second language by the Golo and the Kresh.

(2) Sere (Basiri, Basili), with over 3,500 speakers, is spoken in Congo, Sudan and adjoining areas.

(3) Bviri (Biri, Gumba) is spoken by an estimated 16,000 speakers.

(4) Bai (Bari), located west of the Sere, is spoken by about 2,500 speakers.

(5) Tagbu (Tagbo, Tagba) is spoken by less than 100 speakers adjacent to the Ndogo.

Most researchers consider the above five speech forms to constitute dialects of a single language (e.g. Tucker and Bryan, and Welmers).

(6) Feroqe (Ferohe) is spoken by some 2,500 speakers in western Sudan in a small area around Raga. The Shayo (Shayu) and Gbogo are Feroqe sections.

(7) Golo is spoken in the Sudan between Wau and Mboro by about 3,400 speakers. All the Golo also speak Ndogo. There may also be some Golo speakers in Chad.

(8) Indri (Yanderika) is spoken by approximately 700 speakers near the Feroqe.

(9) Manyaga (Mongaiyat), with about 300 speakers, is spoken near the Feroqe also.

(10) Togoyo, now almost extinct, is spoken near the Feroqe in Sudan.

Group VII

This group consists of Amadi (Ma, Madyo) only. It is spoken by some

4,700 speakers opposite Amadi in the loop of the Uele River northwest of Niangara in the Congo. Tucker and Bryan group Amadi together with the languages of Group VIII (below).

Group VIII

(1) Mondunga (Ndunga, Bondunga) is spoken by about 2,500 speakers located in eight villages located in Lisala Territory, Congo.

(2) Mba (Manga, Kimanga), with roughly 16,000 speakers, is spoken in an enclave among Bantu-speaking peoples in Banalia Territory, Congo, on the Lindi River north of Stanleyville between the Aruwimi and Congo Rivers.

(3) Dongo ('Dongo) is spoken in Faradje Territory, Congo, in the neighborhood of Makolo, by less than 4,900 speakers.

Welmers lists a number of apparently very small Pygmy or Pygmoid groups, located mainly in Central African Republic, as speaking Adamawa-Eastern languages. This list includes Mbacca, Babinga, Bomassa, Bayaka, Gundi, and Ganzi.

MANDE FAMILY

1.3. The Mande family consists of twenty-two separate languages spoken in the following political states of West Africa:

Mauritania

Senegal

Gambia

Portuguese Guinea

Mali

Upper Volta

Niger

Guinea

Sierra Leone

Liberia

Ivory Coast

Ghana

Dahomey

Nigeria.

The Mande family is also known as Mali (Male, Mele) or Mandingo.

Languages in the Mande family are spoken by approximately 7,000,000 people altogether. Of the twenty-two languages in the Mande family, seven are outstanding—Malinke-Bambara-Dyula, Soninke, Mende, Susu-Dyallonke, Vai, Loma, and Kpelle—in terms of number of speakers. Of these, Malinke-Bambara-Dyula with 3,000,000 speakers, makes up nearly half of the speakers of all languages in the family, and Mende ranks second, with one million speakers. The language name (Mende) is not to be confused with the family name (Mande).

The first language of the Mande family listed below, Soninke (1), is spoken in seven different political states, but more than half of the Soninke speakers live in Mali.

The second language listed below, Malinke-Bambara-Dyula (2), is spoken in ten different political states.

The next language in our list, Numu (3)—a caste rather than a tribal language—is spoken chiefly in Ivory Coast, as is Ligbi (4), and also Huela (5).

The next language listed, Vai (6), is spoken both in Liberia and in Sierra Leone.

Kono (7) is spoken in three different political states, as is Susu-Dyallonke (9), while Khasenke (8) is spoken in only one state (Mali).

The preceding languages in general constitute the Mande Tan side of the bifurcation of the Mande family postulated both by Delafosse and by Westermann and Bryan; all the rest of the languages in the Mande family then fall on the Mande Fu side of the bifurcation. If one shifts the Susu-Dyallonke language from the Mande Fu side to the Mande Tan side, the latter corresponds exactly to Group 1 of the Western Branch of the Mande family as postulated both by Welmers and by Greenberg; and the subsequent Welmers-Greenberg groups are in effect sub-groups of Mande Fu.

Group 2 of the Western Branch is represented by a single language, Sya, spoken in Upper Volta, and possibly also in Mali.

Group 3 of the Western Branch is represented by a half dozen languages—Mende is spoken in two different political states, as are Loko and Loma; Gbandi is spoken in Liberia, as are Gbunde and Kpelle.

Group 1 of the Eastern Branch is represented by five languages—Kweni

and Mwa and Nwa are spoken in Ivory Coast; Mane is spoken in two different political states, as is Dan.

Group 2 of the Eastern Branch is represented by three languages, each spoken in two different political states.

Group 1 of the Western Branch has nine languages.

(1) Soninke is a cover term for several tribes speaking a single language; the Soninke-speaking tribes are known as Marka, Markanka, Sarakole, Sarakolle, Saracole, Sarawule, Serahuli, Wakove, Gadyaga, Dyakamke, Tonbakai, and Aswanik. The Soninke language is spoken in Senegal (and beyond Senegal, in Mauritania to the north) in Cercles Podor, Louga, Matom, Sine Saloum, part of Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor. In Mali Soninke is spoken in Cercles Kayes, Bafoulabe, Nicro, Nard, Segon. In Upper Volta Soninke is spoken in Cercles Bobo Dionlasso and Taugan. In addition there are scattered colonies of Soninke in many other parts of West Africa (e.g. on the Niger between Lamorde and Say as well as at Tishit in the western Sahara). Of the half million speakers of Soninke (457,000), 283,000 live in Mali; 100,000 live in Upper Volta; 30,000 live in Senegal; 22,000 live in Mauritania; 10,000 live in Gambia, and 2,000 in Portuguese Guinea. There are three important dispersed tribal offshoots of the Soninke.

The first is the Nono in the Djenne District, who, along with some of the Soninke in Dedougou, Kurninmari and in the Bambara area, 'have lost, or are losing their own language in favor of Bambari or Arabic'.

The second is the Marka (one group of which may now speak Dyula), a specialized mercantile people widely dispersed among the Bambara, Malinke and other neighboring peoples.

The third is the Aser (Adjer, Azer), reported to occupy Tichit, Walata (Onalata) and other Saharan oases, whose dialect is mentioned below.

Two closely related subsidiary dialects of Soninke are:

Azer (Ajer, Azjer, Masiin, Taghdansh), with probably fewer than 50,000 speakers in Mali, Cercles Nioro, Nema and Nara;

Bozo (Sorko, Sorogo), with from 30,000 to 87,000 speakers located on the banks of the Niger and Bani around Segon, San, Mopti, etc.

(2) Malinke-Bambara-Dyula constitutes a dialect cluster with dialects 'so closely interrelated that they must be considered, on a linguistic basis, as dialects of one language' (Westermann and Bryan), although Greenberg lists Malinke and Bambara and Dyula as separate languages. It is reported that there is mutual intelligibility between neighbors speaking these dialects. Furthermore, there is mutual intelligibility of non-neighboring dialects after two or three week's contact between visitors from distant dialects. There are approximately three million speakers of this Malinke-Bambara-Dyula dialect cluster. Because of the vast area in which they are spoken, and their great tribal diversity, separate paragraphs follow for reporting details of Malinke (2a), Bambara (2b), and Dyula (2c):

(2a) Malinke (Mandinka, Mandingo, Manenka, Maninka): approximately 1,200,000 speakers in Senegal (Thies, M'Pour, Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Velingara, Tambacounda), and in Guinea (Gaoual, Mamou, Dabola, Kissidougou, Guekedon, Macenta, Belya), and in Mali (Kayes and Bafonlabe), and in Ivory Coast (Man, Odionne, Seguela, Bondonkou), and in Gambia and parts of Portuguese Guinea. Three sub-dialects are recognized for Malinke proper, which are spoken in the west, north and south of the main Malinke dialect area. Other subsidiary and closely related dialects are the following:

Koranko (Kuranko, Kuranke, Kouranke, Kouranke) with 36,600 speakers in Guinea and 73,500 in Sierra Leone, listed as a separate language by Greenberg but reported as a dialect 'closely related' to Malinke by Westermann and Bryan—a report supported by Welmer's affirmation of Koranko's mutual intelligibility with 'Maninka';

Lele, listed as a dialect spoken in Kissidongon and Guekedon, and described as a variant of Kouranke;

Mau (Mauka), spoken in the western part of the Ivory Coast, south of Odienne, and perhaps also by the Maninyaka, the Wodyeneka, and the Dyomonde (Guiomande);
Minya (Folo), spoken west of Rontiala, between Rivers Bani and Banifing, among the Senufo;

Manya (Manimo, Komendi, Commendi) spoken in western Liberia north of the Vai, and also among the Kpelle, Gola, and Loma;

Sidya (Sidyanka, Sidianka), spoken in Guinea, Futa Djallon; and in Portuguese Guinea, Pakessi, and Rio Grande;

Konya (Dyomande) spoken south of Wasulu, extending to Kerouane and Sanonkoro, in northern Liberia among the Kpelle, Loma and Weima.

(2b) Bambara (Bamana Koma), as a major dialect, is spoken in Senegal, Mali and Upper Volta. Within these countries it is distributed sporadically. In Senegal it is spoken in Sine Saloum, Matam, Kolda, Tambacouida. In Mali it is spoken in Nema, Kayes, Nioro, Nara, Macina, Kita, Segou, Sikasso, Koutiala, San, Mopti, Bamako, Bafonlabe, Niafounke. The number of Bambara speakers including the subsidiary dialects noted below is reported as varying from around 900,000 to 1,200,000 (1942). Of Bambara proper there are approximately 860,000 speakers. Closely related subsidiary dialects of Bambara are:
Dyangirte, in Cercle Nioro;

Kagoro, spoken in the neighborhood of Kolokanik, Mourdah, and Nioro with approximately 17,000 speakers according to Westermann and Bryan or 27,000 (1950) according to Tresson;

Kalonge (Kalunka), in Mourdiah;

Masosi (Bambara Masari), in and south of Nioro;

Nyamosa, in Nioro;

Somowo, a tribe of fishermen of the banks of the Niger and Bani, around Ségou and San, with around 13,000 speakers;

Toro (Toro gâ, Toro ke), among the Wasulu north-east of Bissan Jougou in Cercle Kankan, Guinea.

(2c) Dyula (Dyula Ka), as a major dialect, is spoken by the Dyula (Jula, Dyoula, Dioula) tribe, who call themselves Dyula ke, but are called Wankara (Wangara) in the Ghana and adjoining areas, and are variously known by other surrounding tribes as Wa, Febe, Ndyura, Kaga, Sogha, and Dyokereu. Welmers notes that "in a few old settlements such as Kong, Ivory Coast, Dyula may warrant recognition as a separate dialect or even a separate language. Otherwise, the term is used loosely with the general meaning of 'Bambara or Maninka away from home'. It is the term for Bambara or Maninka as spoken by traders and settlers east of its major home". Labouret gives 1,140,000 as the total number of Dyula speakers, but Tresson (1957) gives 162,000 for Dyula speakers in the Ivory Coast alone. The Dyula are widely scattered throughout the northern part of the Ivory Coast, in Upper Volta, and among other tribes whom they generally dominate. Among these latter tribes there are bilinguals who speak Dyula as a second language. Closely related subsidiary dialects of Dyula are:

Dafing (Dafe), spoken in Dafina, Upper Volta, and in the north-western part of

Ghana, in the Dafena region;

Ble, in Upper Volta, Cercle Bobo Dioulasso, and among the Soninke north of Banfora, with from 200 to 500 speakers reported;

Dyakanka (Dyanka, Diakanke, Dyane) in Mali and the western part of Cercle Macina.

(3) Numu (Neumou) is not spoken by a tribe, but rather by a caste of blacksmiths (or artisans in general) who have a dialect of their own which is closely related to those of the Ligbi and Huela. Welmers notes that Numu may be 'mutually intelligible' with Ligbi and Huela. Numu is spoken in Ivory Coast, Cercle Bondoukou, in 12 villages, and in addition is widely scattered among the Brong, Kulango, and Senufo. The total number of speakers reported varies from 11,000 (HRAF) to 50,000 (Welmers).

(4) Ligbi (Ligwi, Nighi, Nigwi, Ligone, Ligoui, Ligeny, Nigone, Nigoni, Nigui, Bondo, Taba) is spoken in Ivory Coast near Bondoukou, and north of Siguela at Koradongou. It is estimated to have around 50,000 speakers.

(5) Huela (Hwela, Vuela, Vwela) is spoken in Ivory Coast in the Bondoukou area by 'probably fewer than 50,000' speakers.

(6) Vai (Vei, Vy, Kondo, Kono, Kare, Terebendyuke, Gallinas) is spoken in the southwestern corner of Liberia, and across the border in Sierra Leone, between the Loffa (Liberia) and Sulima Rivers (Sierra Leone). Vai is also spoken on the banks of the River Gallinos and on the lower St. Paul and Nesourado Rivers. There are approximately 96,000 Vai speakers. Huela, Numer, and Ligbi are supposed by Westermann and Bryan to be extremely closely related to Vai, but Welmers regards this as 'dubious'.

(7) Kono (Kondo) is spoken in eastern Sierra Leone, north of the Mande

and south of the Kissi, also in Mali, Cercle Man, and in Liberia. There are according to Labouret, 112,000 speakers of Kono. Welmers notes that 'Kono is closely related to Vai, and may be a dialect of it', thus concurring with Westermann and Bryan; Greenberg lists it as a separate language.

(8) Khasonke (Kassonke, Kasso, Xasouke) is spoken in Mali in Cercle Kayes and Bafoulabe, and also in Cercle Nioro, by a total of 53,000 to 71,000 speakers.

(9) Susu-Dyallonke is spoken in the general area of Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Mali, with 392,000 speakers. The hyphenated names represent the only two dialects of this language. These were listed as separate language names by Greenberg, but considered dialects of one language by Westermann and Bryan. In the HRAF it is said that 'they are dialectically so close...as to be practically indistinguishable':

Susu (Sosso, Sussu, Soussou, Soso), on the coast;

Dyallonke (Yalonka, Jalonke, Yalunke, Djallonke, Jalonco), in Futa Djallon and in Sierra Leone (in two sections, Langa and Sako).

Group 2 of the Western Branch of Mande has only one language, which is a Mande outlier in the area of the Gur languages.

(1) Sya (Sia, Sā) is spoken in Upper Volta (Bobo Dioulasso) by about 4,000 speakers. Westermann and Bryan list Sya under Kweni as a 'closely related dialect'; Welmers, however, states that 'what very little evidence' exists makes this classification unlikely. The following dialect has been considered to belong to Bobo (a Gur language), but Westermann and Bryan cite Cremer as indicating that it is more likely a dialect of Sya:

Bobo Fing (Black Bobo, Bobo Fī), spoken in Mali and the Upper Volta.

Group 3 of the Western Branch of Mande is second in importance only to Group 1 of the same branch. Its languages are spoken by some 1,900,000 speakers altogether. Over half of these speakers speak a single language, Mende. Geographically, the languages of Group 3, with one exception, form a continuous chain which begins on the west coast of Sierra Leone, where Mende breaks through the West Atlantic family coastal belt to the sea; the Group 3 chain then extends eastward into northern Liberia and southern Guinea. Only Loko is not a part of this chain; Loko is surrounded by West Atlantic languages in northern Sierra Leone.

The six languages of Group 3 are listed below.

(1) Mende (Mendi, Hulo, Huro, Koso, Boumpé, Kossa, Kosso) is spoken in southeastern Sierra Leone and Liberia by an estimated 586,000 (1948) to 1,000,000 (1951) speakers. The Mende language falls into three main sub-groups with dialectal variation as follows:

Kpa (Gbamende, Kpa-Mende) in the western section, comprising about 20% of the total number of speakers;

Sewa (Sewa-Mende, Komboy Mende) in the central position with about 35% of the total number of speakers;

Ko (Comende, Kolomende, Ko-Mende) in the eastern section comprising about 45% of the total number of speakers.

(2) Loko (Landogo, Landogho, Landro, Lokko) is spoken in Sierra Leone, in a narrow strip along the right bank of the Maboie River and in the bend of the Bali River as far as its confluence with the Maboie; the distribution of Loko extends into Guinea. There are a total of 76,400 speakers. Loko is

more closely related to Mende than to other languages of this group.

(3) Gbandi (Bandi, Gbande, Mamboja, Mamboma) is spoken in northwestern Liberia, between the Kissi on the northwest and the Loma on the northeast, and is separated from the Gola to the south by an uninhabited forest belt. There are a reported 35,000 speakers of this language. Heydorn, as cited by Westermann and Bryan, mentions Yawaziru as a dialect of Gbandi, although nothing else is known of Yawaziru.

(4) Gbunde (Gboode, Kimbuzi, Boo) is listed as a separate language by Greenberg; however, Westermann and Bryan list it as a dialect of Loma. It is spoken west of the Loma in Liberia. No population figures are reported. The following names are sections of the Gbunde, of whose speech nothing is known: Briama (Bulyarma), south of the Lauwa River; Gisima (Gizima), further to the east; Siama (Weima?), on the upper Lanwa and We Rivers; Wuboma, south of Bamai.

(5) Loma (Toma, Loghema, Loonage, Loma, Teoma, Toa, Teale, Toali, Balu, Jokoi, Buzi, Domor Buzi, Twa Mia) is a dialect cluster which is spoken in northern Liberia (northwest of the Kpelle), and also occurs in Guinea, Cercles Macenta, Kissidougou, and Guekedou, with 260,000 speakers. Dialects of Loma are as follows:

Gbunde, see (4) above;

Weima (Koimaka, Weima Buzi, Wymar Bouzie) spoken in Guinea south of the Kenya between Beyal and Nzo.

(6) Kpelle (Akpede, Kpelese, Kpelesetini, Kperese, Gberese, Gekze, Guerzé, Kpese, Kpelema, Gbeize, Kpejesia, Pessi, Pessy, Pessa, Gbese, Kpwesi) is spoken in central Liberia on both banks of the St. Paul River, mainly on the left bank, extending into Guinea, Cercle Nzere-Kere, with from 250,000

to 500,000 speakers. Variations in the language are restricted to 'local phonetic' ones according to Welmers.

The Eastern Branch of Mande has a total of 742,000 speakers, located in small enclaves in eastern and northeastern Liberia, southern Guinea, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Ghana, Nigeria and Dahomey—generally east of the Western branch languages. They are said by Westermann and Bryan to be 'not sufficiently well known for a detailed classification to be made'.

Group 1 consists of five languages distributed in Guinea, Liberia, and the Ivory Coast. These five languages, found on the southernmost periphery of the Mande language family, are listed below.

(1) Mano (Mawi, Manon, Maa, Ma Mia) is spoken east of the Kpelle in eastern Liberia and also in extreme southern Guinea by 45,000 speakers, according to Labouret, and by 150,000 speakers, according to G. D. Mellish (cited by Westermann and Bryan). There are two or three dialects of Mano named:

Ya win;

Mesona;

Ge (Gě), possibly a dialect of Mano or of Dan (Gio); see (2) below.

(2) Dan (Da, Gio Gyo, Ge, Yakuba, Mebe, Samia, Ngere, Ge, Gema, Dã) is spoken in northeast Liberia and the adjoining part of the Ivory Coast, in Cercle Man, adjacent to and intermingled with the Kono. There are approximately 100,000 speakers.

(3) The Kweni (Guro) dialect cluster is made up of at least five dialects. There are well over 210,000 speakers of the language as a whole, which centers in the Ivory Coast. Westermann and Bryan include Mwa, Nwa

(see (4) and (5) below) and Sya (see Mande Western Group 2 above) in Kweni as dialects. But these are listed as separate languages by Greenberg. The five dialects of the Kweni language are given below.

Kweni (Guro, Goure, Gagu, Gurnmbo, Lo) is spoken in Ivory Coast mainly in Cercles Goures between the Sassandra River and the Red Bandama River, and in addition on the left bank of the Bondama and to the south. The total number of Kweni speakers is 83,000.

Gan (Ganne, Gbeinnn, Birifgbě) is spoken in Ivory Coast on the left bank of the Camoe River; the number of Gan speakers is estimated to be 'probably under 50,000'.

Suamle (Memne), on the right bank of the White Bandama River; nothing more than location is reported on this dialect.

Kanga Bono, known only as a name.

Gagu (Gban) is spoken in Cercles Coures, around Ourné by approximately 50,000 speakers; Gagu, in respect to Kweni, is said to be a 'closely related language or dialect'.

Tura is spoken in the hills of Cercle Hout Sassandra of Ivory Coast by 20,000 speakers.

(4) Mwa (Mouin, Mwě, Mona, Moni, Menu) inhabit the area between the Red and White Bandama Rivers, north of the Baule, in Ivory Coast. Mwa is listed as a dialect of Kweni by Westermann and Bryan, but as a separate language by Greenberg.

(5) Nwa (Nona, Nwā, Narā) are located on the White Bandama River adjacent to the Mwa in Ivory Coast; nothing else is reported.

Eastern Mande Group 2 consists of three languages distributed in

in Mali, Upper Volta, Ghana, Dahomey, and Nigeria. The three languages, two of which have over a hundred thousand speakers, are found in small enclaves surrounded by Gur, Songhai and Chadic languages.

(1) Samo (Samogo, Samogho, Sano, Samorho, Sanu, Ninisi, Samoxo, Samojo, Nanerge Sembla, Semu, Semou) is spoken by 128,000 speakers scattered in Upper Volta and Mali. The Sembla (Sambila) appear to be a 'section' of the Samo or 'perhaps a dialect' of Samo (Welmers). Westermann and Bryan report that there are two main dialects which correspond roughly with the main sections of the tribe:

Northeastern, spoken in Dedougou, Tongan, and Ouahigouya;

Southwestern, spoken in Sikasso and Bobo Dioulasso.

(2) Bisa (Busani, Bisan, Bisapele, Boussan, Boussan, Boussanse, Bouzantchi, Busanse, Bussansi, Busang) was formerly thought to be a dialect of Busa (see below); Welmers reports, however, that 'recent investigations indicate that they [Bisa and Busa] are certainly distinct languages.' Bisa is spoken in Upper Volta and Ghana by 127,000 speakers.

(3) Busa (Zugweya, Busanchi, Boko, Bokolawa, Boko Bussawa, Bokoberu, Busagwe, Bisagwe, Kamberi Beri-beri, Kyenga, Kyenga-wa, Kenga, Tyenga, Shanga, Shangawa) is spoken in Dahomey (in the Nikki-Kande area) and in Nigeria (in the Bussa Emirate in Ilorin Province and Illo District in Sokoto Province). There are 27,000 Busa speakers altogether. Murdock (HRAF) cites Bertho as saying that the language of the Tyenga 'is closely related to Busa and Samo'; Westermann and Bryan state that the Tyenga speak Busa.

A final word follows on the internal and external relationships of the Mande family as a whole.

The validity of Mande as a language family has never been questioned. Two views, however, are put forward concerning intra-family classification: the earlier view is that of Delafosse (Essa: de manuel pratique...1901) followed by Westermann and Bryan; the second is that of Welmers (The Mande Languages, 1961) with which Greenberg is in 'substantial agreement'.

Within the Niger-Congo Macro-Phylum, the Mande family is somewhat divergent (along with some languages of the Kwa Phylum) in that it has no noun classes. Greenberg indicates that 'a system of noun classification by pairs of affixes, one for singular, another for plural' is 'the trait of Niger-Congo morphology which provides the main material for comparison'. When this 'trait' is lacking, its absence is accounted for by involving Sapir's drift theory: "drift in Niger-Congo has been in the direction of simplification of the nominal classification system. This has reached its climax in Mande and some of the Kwa languages in which the affixes have been entirely lost and an isolating system results...[accordingly] absence of affixes does not prove lack of connection" of the Mande family with other language families which preserve the affixes in question.

GUR

1.4. The Gur languages are spoken in Mali, Upper Volta, the northern part of the Ivory Coast, northern Ghana, northern Togo, Dahomey, and north-western Nigeria.

Gur consists of three rather well defined branches (Senufo, Lobi-Dogon, and Mossi-Grusi) and three marginal and much less well-defined groups (Gurma, Tem, and Bargu). Since the above mentioned branches constitute the overwhelming majority of both Gur languages as well as speakers, we provisionally treat Gur as a language family. The difficulties with the marginal groups do not in our opinion justify calling Gur something like a phylum, as is suggested by Welmers in his review of Greenberg (1963) where he says that "among the Gur languages...there may well be such great divergence as to demand an ultimate division into several major branches of the Niger-Congo [phylum]... the Dompago dialect of Kabre, Pilapila, and Bariba...—along with one of the Senufo languages from the Ivory Coast, show as little resemblance...in basic vocabulary as any one of them shows with a Kwa language".

Among the more important languages in the Gur family are Lobi, Dogon, Dagbane-Dagomba, More (Mossi), Kabre, Gurma, and Basari (Tobote).

Altogether the Gur languages number about 45 with a total of some six million speakers.

Noun class affixes, which constitute the outstanding structural characteristic of Niger-Congo, turn up in Gur as suffixes in some languages, and as both prefixes and suffixes in others.

The Senufo languages are spoken in the western part of the Gur area, in Mali, Upper Volta, and the Ivory Coast, by a total of approximately 800,000 speakers.

Senufo has the status of a branch within the Gur language family. Our best information concerning the language barrier or dialect of the same language problem in this branch comes from Welmers' review of Greenberg. We quote: "The names which Greenberg cites are generally tribal or sub-tribal names, with no reference to linguistic or even dialectal divisions." A 1957 dialect survey indicates the existence of four separate languages, mainly in Ivory Coast:

(1) Palaka, with about 10,000 speakers, located east of Ferkessedougou, is the most divergent language of this group.

(2) Dyimini-Tagwana, two dialects, have a total of about 67,000 speakers.

(3) Central Senufo (Senadi, Senari), with some 350,000 speakers is spoken in the northern Ivory Coast and perhaps a small part of Mali. "Central Senufo includes a variety of somewhat aberrant fringe dialects, but these hardly seem to be distinct languages " (Welmers).

(4) Northern Senufo includes two mutually intelligible dialects Supide (Suppire) and Minianka. Approximate number of speakers is 350,000.

Westermann and Bryan call Senufo a dialect cluster—a single, separate or distinct language, presumably—consisting of the following:

Bamana (Bambara, Minianka, Tagba) spoken in the northern part of the Ivory Coast and adjacent areas of Mali and Upper Volta;

Senadi spoken at Korhogo;

Supide spoken at Sikasso;

Folo (Foro) spoken along the Bandama River by 24,000 speakers;

Karaboro (Koroma, Karoma) spoken in Upper Volta by roughly 10,000 speakers;

Mbwin spoken near the sources of the CORMOË River by 32,000 speakers;

Nafana (Gambo, Pantara) scattered between the Black Volta and Bondoukou and

extending into Ghana;

Dyimini (Jimini, Gimini), with 32,000 speakers, south of Kong and north of the Baule, also outlying sections in Ghana;

Noholo (Naoulou) spoken in canton Séguéla east of Odienné.

Tagwana (Tagbona, Tagouana, Takponin, Kangable), spoken mainly east of the Bandama River, north of the Baule and west of the Dyimini by about 35,000 speakers;

Tafile (Tafire, Tafiri), spoken between Kong and the Bandama River;

Kpalagha (Pallaka, Kpallaga), spoken in the Korhogo-Firkessédougou area by 7,000 speakers;

Padogho (Padorho, Bodoro), spoken between Diébougou and Lorhosso;

Tusia (Toussia), with 15,000 speakers, southwest of Bobo Dioulasso;

Tiefo (Tyefo, Tyeforo), spoken in the Bobo Dioulasso area by 6,500 speakers;

Doghosie;

Kulele (Pama), spoken in the Wara area by 15,000 speakers;

Natorio (Natyoro), spoken west of Banfora by 1,000 speakers;

Wara (Ouara, Ouala, Sama), spoken southwest of Banfora by about 2,000 speakers;

Vige (Vigye, Vigué), spoken by 3,500 speakers southwest of Bobo Dioulasso;

Tyebali (Tiébala), spoken in the Banfora area by 2,000 speakers.

Greenberg's Senufo list includes Dyimini, Foro, Minianka, Nafana, Tagba, and Tagwana (Takponin).

The Lobi-Dogon branch of Gur consists of an unknown number of languages (four to ten) spoken mainly in Upper Volta, but extending into Mali, the Ivory Coast, and a part of Ghana. Our estimate of the number of languages is based on Westermann and Bryan who list four dialect clusters (Lobi, Bobo, Dogon, and Kulango, a single unit coordinate with Lobi-Dogon), and on Welmers

whose maximum estimate is ten.

Our list, which follows, is annotated:

(1) Lobi is spoken by a total of 360,000 speakers (including speakers of various dialects); some dialects may well be distinct languages:

Lobi, 211,000 speakers in the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta;

Dyan (Dyanu, Dyane, Dian), spoken in Cercle Gaoua, Diébougou subdivision, north of the Lobi, by 8,000 speakers;

Zanga, spoken west of the Nunuma area and the extreme north of the Dagari area;

Gouin (Gwě, Mbouin), spoken by 55,000 speakers near the sources of the Camoë River in the Banfora subdivision in Cercle Bobo Dioulasso and around Léra;

Turuka (Turka, Isiema, Pain, Kpaimba), spoken by 25,000 in the Gouin area—may even be a subdialect of Gouin;

Gan(Gan-Lobi, Gane), spoken in Cercle Gaoua around Lorhosso by 5,000 speakers;

Padogho (Bodoro), probably same dialect as Gan, with 46,000 speakers;

Komono (Kumwenu), spoken by 3,000 speakers on the upper Camoë River south of the Doghosie—is perhaps a Senufo or even a Twi (of Kwa) language;

Doghosie (Dorhossie), spoken by 7,500 speakers in Cercle Bobo Dioulasso north of the Komono—two sections include the Doghosie proper and the Doghosie Fing—may be related most closely to Senufo.

(2) Dogon (Dogom, Habe, Kibissi) is spoken in a large area of Mali and also in Upper Volta by a total of about 149,000 speakers. The two major dialects, possibly distinct languages, are Dogon and Tombo.

(3) Bobo (Bwa) is spoken by 289,000 speakers, including the following tribal sections or dialects:

Bobo FI (Bobo Fing, Finng, Bulse);
 Sankura (Zara);
 Bobo Gbe (Tyan, Kyan, Tyanse);
 Bobo Wule (Oulé, Ule, Tara, Tarase);
 Nyenyeye (Bouamou).

Some of the above may be separate languages. Bobo Fing may be a Mande language.

(4) Kulango (Nabe, Nambai, Zazere, Ngwala), listed as a unit distinct from Lobi-Dogon by Westermann and Bryan, but included therein by Greenberg, is spoken by 47,000 speakers, located in the Ivory Coast and extending to the southeast into Ghana. The main dialects are listed, but the relationship of the other two to Kulango is uncertain:

Kulango—40,000 speakers;

Loghon (Lorhon, Loron, Nabe?, Loma, Logoma, Loghoma)—5,000 speakers;

Tegesye (Tunbe).

Greenberg's Lobi-Dogon list also includes Natioro and Wara (see Senufo above) and Puguli (see Grusi below).

The Mossi-Grusi group includes about 20 languages spoken in parts of Upper Volta and northern Ghana by well over three million speakers.

The languages of the Mossi subgroup are listed below:

(1) More(Mossi) is spoken mainly in Upper Volta in the Cercles Kaya, Ougadougou, Tenkodogo, and surrounding areas by about 2,000,000 speakers.

The four main dialects are:

Saremde;

Taolende;

Yadre (Lansi);

Ougadougou.

Two additional Mossi dialects are spoken in Togo, in the Lama-Kara area by the Nawdam (Naoudam, Naoudemba, Losso) and the Yanga, with populations of 27,000 and 7,000 respectively.

Mossi is also spoken by the Silmi-Mossi (Silmissi, Silmi) who were former Fulani speakers (15,000), and by the Yarse (over 72,000) who are Dyula colonists.

(2) Dagomba-Dagbane is spoken by 173,000 (1948) speakers between the Oti and White Volta Rivers with main centers at Yendi, Tamale and Gambaga in Ghana.

(3) Kusasi is spoken in northeastern Ghana extending into Togo. The number of speakers is about 101,000.

(4) Mamprusi with perhaps 85,000 speakers, is spoken south and southwest of the Kusasi in Ghana and Togo.

(5) Nanumba is spoken in Ghana and Togo between the Oti and Daka Rivers, with main center at Bimbila, by probably less than 50,000 speakers. There is some uncertainty as to whether (2) to (5) are dialects of one or several languages, or distinct languages.

(6) Nankanse (Nankana), which is known together with Kusasi (see (3) above) as Frafra, is spoken by 105,000 speakers in Ghana northwest of the Mamprusi, and in the adjacent part of Upper Volta.

(7) Talensi (Talene), with 35,000 speakers is spoken in the Tong Hills of the Zuarungu District, Ghana.

(8) Wala has 26,000 speakers located in the Wa District of Ghana, south of the Dagari.

(9) Dagari (Dagati) is spoken in the northwestern part of Ghana and in adjacent Cercle Gaoua, Upper Volta by over 120,000 speakers.

(10) Birifo (Birifor) is spoken in Upper Volta, Cercle Gaoua, Kampti subdivision, extending into Ghana. There are 90,000 speakers.

(11) Namnam (Nabdam, Nabde, Nabrug), with 8,000 speakers (1921), is spoken in Ghana, west of the Red Volta, north of the Talensi, east of the Nankase.

The languages of the Grusi subgroup, with 500,000 speakers, are listed below. The name Grusi (Gurunsi, Gurumsi) is applied to all the tribes speaking these languages.

(1) Kasena (Kasene, Kasem, Kasense, Yule, Wulisi, Gapershi, Kipirsi, Binyime) is spoken in Upper Volta, Cercle Ougadougou, with main center Tiebélé, and in northern Ghana. The number of speakers is 116,000, including a closely related dialect, perhaps language, Nunuma (Nunuma, Nuruma, Nuna, Nibulu) whose population numbers 42,000. Kasena is known as Awuna in Ghana.

(2) Lele (Lyele, Lere), possibly a dialect of Kasera, is spoken in Cercles Tougan and Koudougou in Upper Volta by 61,000 speakers (1931).

(3) Tamprusi (Tampole, Tampele) is spoken by less than 100,000 speakers in Ghana, mainly in the Mamprussi District. Vagala is a closely related dialect.

(4) Kanjaga (Buile, Bulugu, Bulea), with 59,000 speakers, is spoken west of the Nankanse and Talensi in Ghana.

(5) Degha (Buru, Mmofo) is spoken by about 800 in the Ivory Coast, and by possibly some 10,000 or less in Ghana, in the bend of the Black Volta northwest of Kintampo and Assafumo.

(6) Siti (Kira, Sitigo, Konosarala, Paxala) is spoken on the Ghana-Ivory Coast border southeast of Bouna by less than 10,000 speakers.

(7) Kurumba (Fulse, Lilse...) is spoken by 86,000 speakers in Upper Volta, mainly in Cercle Ouahigouya. The Deforo are included here.

(8) Sisala (Issala, Hissala, Sisai) is spoken in Cercle Ouagadougou, Léo subdivision, extending into Ghana west of the Nankanse and the Kanjaga. The number of speakers, mainly in Ghana, is 42,000.

(9) Buguli (Pougouli, Buguri) is spoken by some 7,500 speakers in Cercle Gaoua, Diébougou subdivision, Upper Volta.

According to Westermann and Bryan, the whole Grusi subgroup is one dialect cluster.

The Gurma group of languages is located in parts of Upper Volta, Togo, Ghana and Dahomey. According to Westermann and Bryan, Gurma is a single dialect cluster with some 14 dialects. Greenberg lists only four of these (see (1) to (4) below). Welmers thinks some of them may be distinct languages.

(1) Gurma is spoken in Upper Volta, mainly in Fada N'Gourma, in Togo, Cercle Mango, and in Dahomey, Cercles Atacora and Djougou. Westermann and Bryan give a population figure of 127,000 but other figures range up to 200,000.

(2) Kasele (Che, Chamba, Akasele, Chansi) is spoken in Togo, Cercle Sokode by 20,000 speakers.

(3) Tobote (Basari, Cemba, Chamba, Tschamina, Bitshamba) is spoken by 28,000 speakers in Togo, Cercles Sokode and Bassari, and in Ghana between the Tem and Dagomba.

(4) Moba (Moa, Bimoba, Bema), with 72,000 to 90,000 speakers, is spoken in Togo on the Gambaga Plateau, and also in several areas in Ghana.

(5) Konkomba (Kokomba) is spoken in Togo north of Bassari, south of the Cakosi and Moba. The Komba, a related tribe situated in nearby areas of Ghana, speak the same form of speech as the Konkomba. The number of speakers is about 60,000.

(6) Somba (Soma, Some, Tamberma) has a total number of speakers of 72,000, 45,000 in Dahomey alone, the rest in Togo. Niende and Yoabu (see below) may be dialects.

(7) Yoabu on the Togo-Dahomey border (Natitingou area) has about 8,000 speakers. It may be a dialect of Somba.

(8) Natemba has some 17,000 speakers located west of the Yoabu in Togo.

(9) Takemba (Tankamba) is spoken north of Natitingou in Dahomey by probably less than 10,000 speakers. Its status as a language or dialect is highly uncertain.

(10) Tayaku, spoken near the Takemba, and of the same doubtful status, also has probably under 10,000 speakers.

(11) Berba is spoken in the Tanguiéta region in Dahomey by 44,000 speakers.

(12) Soruba-Kuyobe (Biyobe, Meyobe, Solamba) is spoken on the Togo-Dahomey border northwest of Djougou. There are 5,000 speakers in Dahomey and a larger but unknown number in Togo.

(13) Dye (Ngamgam) is spoken in northern Togo by probably less than 10,000 speakers. Its status as a language or dialect is uncertain.

(14) Pila (Pilapila, Kpilakpila, Yom) is spoken in Dahomey around Djougou. The number of speakers may be as high as 40,000.

The Tem group consists of perhaps four or five languages--dialects

according to Westermann and Bryan—spoken mostly in Togo by over 300,000 speakers.

(1) Tem (Tim, Timu, Temba, Kotokoli) is spoken in Togo in the Sekode, Lama-Kara, Bassari and Sansane Mango area by 244,000 speakers.

(2) Kabre (Kabure, Kabye, Kabiema...) is spoken by 35,000 speakers in Dahomey and Togo.

(3) Delo (Ntribu, Tribu) is spoken east of Kete Krachi in Togo. There are probably less than 10,000 speakers.

(4) Chala is spoken in the northeastern part of Nawuri. Number of speakers not known.

(5) Lamba (Anima, Namba, Lama) is spoken in Togo in the Lama-Kara area, extending into Dahomey. The number of speakers is 18,000.

(6) Dompago (Legba, Logba) is spoken on the Togo-Dahomey border, east of the Kabre, by some 14,000 speakers.

Welmers notes that although some of the above named speech forms may be dialects, others may well be distinct languages. Greenberg's listing includes our (1) to (4). Westermann and Bryan also include here Anyimere (Animere) which we have listed as belonging to the Lagoon family of Kwa.

The last Gur language in our listing is Bargu (Bariba) which is coordinate with the Tem and Gurma groups. Bargu is spoken in northeastern Togo and northern Dahomey extending eastward into Nigeria. The total number of speakers is 240,000 living mainly in Dahomey.

WEST ATLANTIC FAMILY

1.5. The Senegal River forms the boundary between the republics of Mauritania and Senegal, and marks the northern extent of the west African regions—generally coastal—in which languages are spoken that belong to the West Atlantic Family. The most famous of these is Fulani, which is also spoken by more than half as many people as the speakers of the score of all the other West Atlantic languages put together. There are four and a half million speakers of Fulani; considerably more than half a million speakers of Wolof; and a half million speakers of Temne. Several of the other West Atlantic languages are spoken by more than a hundred thousand people (Balante, Dyola, Serer, Kissi, Bulom, Limba, and Gola). The remaining West Atlantic languages—about half of them—are spoken by tens of thousands rather than hundreds of thousands of speakers for each language.

The West Atlantic language names in the northern reaches of the West African territory of the family refer to what Westermann and Bryan call 'language groups'. It is possible that a given language name in such a 'language group' will turn out to represent more than one separate language, and it is certain that the 'language groups' of the north are more diverse than the 'dialect clusters' to the south of them. These northern 'language groups' include Fulani, and a dozen others:

(1) Nalu (Nalou) is spoken by 10,000 people on both sides of the French Guinea-Portuguese Guinea border on the coast between the Rio Nunez in the south and the Rio Tombati in the north. Westermann and Bryan also cite, as a possible dialect, Baga Fore (Black Baga) of Monchon.

(2) Banyun (Bainouk, Banhun, Elomory, Elunay, Bagnoun, Biafar, Fada, Beafade, Bidyola) is spoken by 18,000 people in Portuguese Guinea between the Casamance and Cacheo Rivers and in Senegal in the Sedhiou-Bignona-Ziguinchor area. Probable dialects of Banyun are:

Kobiana (Cobiana), 300;

Kasanga (Cassanga, Cassangue, Ihafa, Ihage), 420.

Both of these dialects are spoken in the same area as the Banyun proper dialect.

(3) Balante (Balant, Bulanta, Belante, Alante, Ballante, Brassa, Balanta) is spoken by 167,000 people in Portuguese Guinea between the Casamance and Geba Rivers and in Senegal around Ziguinchor and Sedhiou. The tribe is divided into northern and southern sections with the following probable dialects:

Balanta Mane;

Naga north-west of the Balante;

Kunante (Kunāt): 6,050 speakers in Portuguese Guinea on the borders of the administrative districts of Bafata and Mansoa.

(4) Mandyak (Mandfaque, Manfaco, Ndyak, Mēdyak, Mandyako, Kanyop): nearly 84,000 speakers in Portuguese Guinea on the coast between the Cocheo and Mansoa Rivers, and on Pecixe Island; and in Senegal in the Ziguinchor-Sedhiou area.

(5) Pepel (Papel, Papei): 36,341 speakers in Portuguese Guinea, mainly on Bissao Island; also in Guinea. Greenberg does not include Papel, but does include closely related languages (Bidyogo, Biafada, and Mankanya, below).

(6) Mankanya (Mancagne, Mancanka, Bola, Brame, Burama, Buram, Bulama): 16,300 speakers in Portuguese Guinea between the Cacheo and Mansoa Rivers west of the Mandyak and east of the Balante. There are also speakers on Bolama Island, whom Westermann and Bryan say appear to speak different dialects. Other dialects are:

Shadal (Shadar) spoken on the mainland;

Burama spoken on the island with the same name.

(7) Biafada (Biafar, Fada, Beafada, Bidyola, Bedfola, Dfola): 11,851 speakers in Portuguese Guinea on both banks of the Geba estuary.

(8) 'Tenda' is a general name comprising a number of tribes and tribal sections, and the languages and dialects spoken by them. Little is known about them. The following languages and dialects are listed by Westermann and Bryan as well as by Greenberg:

Badyara (Pafade, Badyaranke, Pafadinga, Badyar, Badyare; also Gola, Agola, Bigola, Axus): 10,000 speakers at the junction of Guinea, Senegal, and Portuguese Guinea;

Konyagi (Konyaki, Cogniagui, Conhague): 85,000 speakers in Guinea and east Yaokounkoun, extending to the border of Senegal;

Basari (Basar, Ayan, Biyan, Wo): 11,500 speakers on the borders of Guinea, Senegal and Gambia, around Youkounkoun.

(9) Bidyogo (Budjago, Bugago, Bijougot, Bijago) spoken by 10,000 people on the Bissagos Islands. Westermann distinguished two dialects of Bidyogo; the second dialect is spoken on Roxa Island and called Anhaqui.

(10) Dyola (Diola, Jola, Yola) is spoken by 155,000 primarily in Guinea (140,000); the remaining speakers live in Gambia and Portuguese Guinea (15,000), between the Gambia and Cacheo Rivers. Westermann presents the following 'sections' of Dyola which may or may not correspond to dialectal divisions:

Karones (Dyembaren) located on the rivers by these same names;

Bliss is located in the same area as Karones;

Carabane is located on Carabane Island;

Dyamate (Kudamate) is located on the right bank of the Casamance River;

Fony (Fogny) is located between the Bignona and Sangrogrou Rivers, in the Gambia and south of Carabene—and Fony is the most widely understood dialect;

Bayot (Baiot, Bayette) is spoken south of Ziguinchor, mainly in Portuguese Guinea by about 4,373 speakers;

Flup (Felupe, Fulup, Filham, Floup, Feloupe) is spoken by 8,167 people.

(11) Serer (Serrer, Serère) is spoken by 300,000 people, mainly in Senegal south of Cayor; also in Gambia. There are two main dialects (listed separately by Greenberg):

Sere None (None, Dyoba), in the coast region near Thiès;

Sere Sin (Sine-Sine, Kegem) in the Saloum Valley, around Joal.

Other dialects of Serer are:

Nyominka, spoken around Kaolack and Foundiougne;

Seguim, spoken at M'Bour;

Ndoute, spoken in the Thiès area.

(12) Wolof (Ouolof, Jolof, Dyolof, Volef) is spoken by 640,000 in Senegal, from the left bank of the Senegal River to Cape Vert, with some speakers as far south as Gambia and some as far north as Mauretania. The following dialects have been noted (Westermann and Bryan):

St. Louis;

Cayor (Kayor);

Walo;

Saloum;

Lebou.

Wolof is widely used as a trade language, spoken or understood throughout Senegal.

(13) Fulani (Ful, Fula, Poular Peul): 4,500,000 speakers living in a vast area of West Africa from Senegal and Mauretania to Sierra Leone in the west and to Bagirmi and Wadai in the east. Most speakers live in Senegambia, Mauna in the French Sudan, and in Adamawa in Nigeria. Westermann and Bryan say that 'no detailed study of the dialects of Fulani has yet been made.' The following main geographical areas where different dialects are spoken have been distinguished.

Futa Sénégalais (Pular, Poular);

Futa Djallon (Fula);

Macina, Upper Volta, and the Niger Bend;

Nigeria: Adamawa Province and adjacent territory;

Nigeria: Bauchi Province and part of Plateau Province;

Bagirmi (Foulbere).

In Nigeria the dialects of Kano and Katsina may be considered as the most widely understood of all the Fulani dialects.

The West Atlantic language names in the southern reaches of the West African territory of the family refer to what Westermann and Bryan call 'dialect clusters'—namely:

(1) Temne (Timne, Timene, Timmannee): 525,000 speakers in Sierra Leone between the Little Scarcie and Sewa Rivers. There are two geographically separated groups of Temne: Sandra Temne in the north; and the Yonni Temne in the south. It is not known whether these represent corresponding dialectal differences.

(2) Baga (Barka): 50,000 speakers scattered along the coast of Guinea, from the Conakry to the Cormpony River. Various groups of Baga are designated by local names, cited in square brackets:

Baga [Kalum] (here the old people still speak Baga; the rest have adopted Susu);

Baga [Koba] in Cercle Boffa;

Baga [Sobane];

Baga [Sitemu] on Rio Nunez;

Baga [Madure];

Waele of Futa Djallon may speak a Baga dialect.

(3) Landoma (Landuma): 50,000 speakers in Guinea between the upper Rio Nunez and the upper Rio Ponga.

Tiapi (Tyapi, Tapessi) is a dialect of Landoma spoken in Cercles Gaoval and Boké.

(4) Kissi (Ghizi, Gissi, Kisi, Kissien) is spoken by about 210,000 speakers. The Human Relations Area File gives the following breakdown: 35,000 in Sierra Leone; 25,000 in Liberia; and 150,000 in Guinea. In addition to the heavy concentration of speakers in Guinea around Cercles Macenta, Guékédou, Kissidougou, and Dabola, there are speakers scattered along a strip of territory on both sides of the Liberia-Sierra Leone border. Liaro (Ifan) is a dialect of Kissi spoken in Cercle Macenta .

(5) Bulom (Bolom, Bullom, Bullun, Sherbro, Mampa, Amampa) is spoken by 212,000 people in Sierra Leone, the Sherbro district, and in the coastal villages of Sierra Leone Peninsula, and also in three separate areas: Krim River area (Kim, Kimi, Krim, Kirim, Kittim); Bome River area (Bome, Bum, Bomo); Sherbro district (Mampa, Mampwa, Shiba).

There appear to be several dialects of Bulom corresponding to various localities:

Bum (Bome, Bomo);

Kim (Kimi, Krim, Kirim, Kitlim);

Mampa (Mampwa, Shiba), of Sherbro.

(6) Nmani (Mmani, Mandenyi): no population figures given; spoken on the Coast of Guinea between the Grand Scarcie (Kolente) and Morebaya Rivers.

(7) Limba (Yimbe): 175,000 speakers in Sierra Leone, between the Rokel and Scarcie Rivers; also in Guinea in Cercle Mamou. Westermann and Bryan indicate that 'dialectal differences do not appear significant'.

(8) Gola (Gula) is spoken by 160,000 people living between the Moa and St. Paul Rivers in western Liberia; included in the total are 8,500 speakers in Sierra Leone. Westermann and Bryan state that nothing is known of dialectal variation in Gola.

(9) Adyukru is the only seriously controverted language in the West Atlantic family. It is only Westermann and Bryan that include Adyukru in West Atlantic. Greenberg places it in his Lagoon Family of Kwa, as has been indicated above (1.1). Welmers thinks it is monotypic. Westermann and Bryan recognize that Bertho ('La place du dialecte adiukru...', 1950), as well as Greenberg, consider Adyukru as part of Kwa, but justify their position by noting that the vocabulary of Adyukru has similarities to Kwa due to recent borrowing.

In comparison with Adyukru, the position of Fulani as a language belonging to the West Atlantic family is secure, and uncontroverted by modern scholars. It is true, of course, that Meinhof had long ago, but erroneously, classified Fulani as Hamitic—as a language in the modern Afro-Asiatic phylum—and that Westermann had subsequent doubts about including Fulani in what was once called 'West Sudanic', which included languages of the West Atlantic family. No such doubt is expressed in Westermann and Bryan, since the evidence that Fulani is related to such West Atlantic languages as Wolof and Serer was presented as early as 1927 by Delafosse (*Classes nominales en Wolof*, Festschrift Meinhof).

BANTU AND OTHER BENUE CONGO LANGUAGES

1.6. The single term 'Bantu' is used in this report for one branch of the Benue Congo languages. However, the languages in this branch are so divided in geographic distribution (and so unevenly studied and so variously classified by such labels as 'sub-Bantu' and 'Bantoid' and 'semi-Bantu' and 'neo-Bantu' beside 'Bantu') that we begin the report by segregating Bantu languages into three separate lists under three center heads—namely,
Guthrie's Bantu
Bantu Frontier Languages
Postulated Bantu.

The enormity of the task that Africanists face in attempting to present a coherent account of the Bantu languages alone appears dramatically in the count of separate languages in each of our segregated lists. There are all told 369 separate languages listed under Guthrie's Bantu—three hundred more than those listed under Bantu Frontier Languages (69). And an additional 51 languages are listed under Postulated Bantu. This gives a total of almost five hundred separate Bantu languages.

The languages listed under the first two center heads below—Guthrie's Bantu, and Bantu Frontier Languages—have this in common: they have been already attested to be Bantu, or appear to be amenable to such attestation, by the application of strict comparative method techniques. That is to say, for these attested or attestable Bantu languages, specific phonetic correspondences are obtained whenever they are compared. Some have not yet been compared, but from the uniform success among those that have been, it is of course expected that for the remainder of the languages (under Guthrie's Bantu and under Bantu

Frontier Languages) phonetic correspondences are obtainable.

For the Postulated Bantu in West Africa, specific phonetic correspondences have not yet been obtained—i.e. correspondences between Postulated Bantu and the attested or attestable Bantu are still for the most part lacking. So the question is, are they obtainable? One can of course say that it is expected that such sound correspondences will be obtained; and having said this much, one can not be challenged to explain the similarities in structure between the attested Bantu languages and the postulated Bantu languages, since the expectation of sound correspondence implies a genetic explanation to account for structural similarity. However, if one says that the contrary is expected—that extensive investigation is not apt to obtain phonetic correspondences—then one might be tempted to explain the structural similarities between attested Bantu and postulated Bantu as a consequence of borrowing in areal linguistics rather than as a consequence of descent from a common ancestor in comparative method linguistics. When so tempted, Johnston explained the known similarities metaphorically as a consequence of 'contamination' in areal linguistics; this explanation has been cleverly satirized in a recent review of Malcom Guthrie's *Bantu Origins: A Tentative New Hypothesis*, *Journal of African Languages*, 9-21 (1962): "... Johnston assumed, among other things, that Moré borrowed its noun class system lock, stock, and barrel from Fula; his concept of language history is found in his glowing outburst, "A great jumble of events, and lo!—new languages spring suddenly into existence!" In a similar way, Guthrie must assume that, by some fantastic tribal or inter-tribal collusion, the ancestors of the modern speakers of some West Atlantic languages must suddenly have decided, unanimously, to divide their nouns into a very large number of classes, to mark these classes by prefixes, to use a few prefixes

similar to those of their Bantu visitors, to establish a system of concord parallel to that of Bantu in innumerable minute details (counting animate nouns as personal for purposes of concord, and even indicating possession by a person with an additional morpheme -ka- almost precisely as the southern Bantu languages do)—and then, on top of it all, to borrow a few words for some of the most culturally stable vocabulary imaginable, but hardly a word for a commonly culturally transmitted item! Meanwhile, the ancient Gur peoples must have decided by similar inter-tribal conference that this noun-class deal was not bad—but wouldn't it be neater to use suffixes to mark them? Igbo and Yoruba would seem to have adopted only a few hints of the class system, but—by some equally amazing conspiracy—decided to introduce a subtle morphophonemic alternation at precisely those points, and none others, where the Bantu languages use an associative morpheme -a. Jukun, which is about as non-Bantu as one can get in superficial respects, took over the associative -a itself, with full approval of the Bantu peculiarity of not using it with numerals. And what fun the Mande peoples must have had with Bantu! One tribe selected this use of -a, and others different uses of -ka-, from those heard from the wandering or immigrant Bantus; but they voted unanimously against contaminating their grammar with any noun class system. Again, Akan borrowed (by this theory) not only the common verb "go" from northwestern Bantu, but also decided to borrow the peculiar irregularity, confined to this one verb, of an alternate stem form before vowel-initial suffixes (Bulu *kə/kəl-*, Fante *ko/kər-*), though the particular suffixes were scorned. Seriously, where is there a parallel in all of language history or language contact for this fantastic kind and extent of 'contamination'?"

(Review by Wm. E. Welmers, *Word* 19, 407-16, 1963.)

In this satire, language names and family names and branch names are mixed indiscriminantly: Moré, Fula, West Atlantic, Bantu, Gur, Igbo, Yoruba, Jukun, Mande, Akan, Bulu, and Fante. Three of the names mentioned are names of language families, identified in preceding sections, above: West Atlantic (1.5), Gur (1.4), Mande (1.3). Two of the names mentioned are names of branches—Bantu and Jukun—of Benue Congo, which is here regarded as an enlargement of the relatively well-established 'Bantu family'; in the new perspective, however, Bantu turns out to be one of four coordinate branches of the new Benue Congo family or phyllic family:

Plateau

Jukunoid

Cross River

Bantu (including Guthrie's Bantu, Bantu Frontier Languages, and Postulated Bantu).

The satire cited above is not restricted to these four coordinate branches of the Benue Congo family. Anything that is found in the unbelievably large and diverse Niger-Congo Macro-Phylum is target for the satire which in effect insists that the structural similarities and differences are so elaborately isomorphic that they can be accounted for by descent from a common ancestor, but cannot be accounted for by diffusion among unrelated languages, since diffusion, though possible, would result in less symmetrical samenesses and less isomorphic differences. This kind of argument is frequently encountered in discussing relationships of a tenuous or remote type, which we label phylum linguistics. Without suggesting that phylum linguistics is without virtue (indeed, its chief virtue is mentioned presently), it can be said that it is futile to argue details of phylum linguistics, since too few details can ever

be marshalled to make such an argument interesting. Linguistic phyla have programmatic virtue: any map based on some information is better than divided opinion which leads in no particular direction.

The problem of enlarging the old 'Bantu family' is half perspective of the phylum linguistics kind, and half attestation of the language family kind which depends on phonetic correspondences, as indicated above. Since the status of Benue Congo, so far, is not as certain as that of any other 'family' in the Niger-Congo Macro-Phylum, and not at all so uncertain or programmatic as, for example, the Kwa phylum in that Macro-Phylum, we label Benue Congo a phyletic family, and treat the four coordinate branches of Benue Congo in the following order:

Bantu	{	Guthrie's
		Frontier
		Postulated

Plateau Branch Coordinate with Bantu

Jukunoid Branch Coordinate with Bantu

Cross River Branch Coordinate with Bantu.

Or, rather than saying that we treat 'the four coordinate branches of Benue Congo' in a certain order, we should say that we follow that order for four branches of Benue Congo treated mechanically in the listing as though they were coordinate. But this is not the way they were regarded to begin with. In the history of successive merging in African language classifications, two parallel sets of languages that were once thought to be similar (but not genetically so) are reconsidered; then next, the same similarities that were originally observed, are taken as evidence of common descent from one ancestral language: so the languages turn out to be genetically similar after all.

This is an oversimplification; what is new in the recent genetic merging of African languages that were formerly thought to be unrelated is regrouping within the older 'families'. In Westermann's day, for example, Benue-Cross languages were regarded as related to each other, just as Bantu languages were, on the other side of the genetic fence. The fence was removed by Greenberg, but the consequence was not that two coordinate major branches of Benue Congo emerged—not Benue-Cross versus Bantu. Rather than a bifurcation, Westermann's Benue-Cross was triply brachiated into

Plateau

Jukunoid

Cross-River

and some of Westermann's Benue-Cross languages—e.g. Tiv and Ndoro—were assigned neither to the new Plateau branch nor to the new Jukunoid branch nor to new Cross-River branch. Instead, Tiv, Ndoro, and a few other languages were assigned to Bantu, now become a 'branch' of Benue Congo rather than an independent language 'family'. But the vast majority of the languages in Westermann's Benue-Cross were simply reassigned to one or another of three branches, and from the languages in each of these three branches evidence was sought to connect them genetically with Bantu languages. Hence, in another than a coordinate sense, the new Benue Congo phyletic family is an extension or enlargement of the old Bantu family.

The Bantu languages are listed below by zones (A-S). After the list of languages for each zone a map is appended indicating the location of the languages, which are numbered as in the list. The maps are adapted from Guthrie (1948; 1953) and Bryan (1959). Political boundaries are indicated by dot-dash lines, zone boundaries by solid lines, and language boundaries by broken lines.

The map immediately below indicates the general location of each zone.



GUTHRIE'S BANTU

ZONE A

The languages of Zone A consist of eight groups, spoken mainly in the Cameroons and to a lesser extent in Rio Muni, Gabon, Congo Brazzaville and the Central African Republic. The total number of languages is 46 of which Basa (43), Ewondo (72), Bulu-Bene (74) and Fan (75) have roughly 200,000 speakers each. We estimate the total number of speakers of all the languages in this zone to be well over 1,300,000.

For a linguistic characterization of this zone we quote Guthrie (1948): "The languages of this zone are different in many ways from those of other zones. In certain respects they appear superficially to have features which have been loosely called 'un-Bantu', but...they fulfill all the criteria [of Bantu languages]...The...percentage of words in the standard vocabularies which can be related to those in languages of other zones [is]small..." This percentage is, in fact, less than 10%. The languages of Zone A are listed below in groups.

(10) Lundu-Balong Group

(11) Lundu, 24,000 speakers, five dialects:

Lundu (Balundu), 6,000;

Ngoro (Ngolo), 6,000 speakers, perhaps including Batanga;

Bakundu (Lokundu, Kundu), 5,000;

Batanga-Bima, see Ngoro;

Ekumbe-Mbonge, 7,000.

(12) Barue (W. Kundu, Lue), 5,000 speakers.

(13) Balong, 2,000 speakers.

(14) Bonkeng, 1,500 speakers.

(15) Mbo, 22,500 speakers, seven dialects:

Bafe, 2,500;
 Koose, 2,000;
 Swase, 3,000;
 Lon, 4,000;
 Nenfi, 2,500;
 Kaa, 5,500;
 Mbo, 3,000.

(20) Duala Group

- (21) Bomboko (Mboko, Bambuku), 2,500 speakers.
- (22) Baakpe (Bakwiri, Mokpe), over 15,500 speakers.
- (23) Su (Isubu, Bimbia, Subu, Isuwu), less than 500 speakers.
- (24) Duala (Douala), 23,000 speakers, used as a lingua franca over a wide area in the western part of the Cameroons.
- (25) Oli (Ewodi, Wuri, Wouri), 3,500 speakers.
- (26) Pongo-Mungo, 7,500 speakers.
- (27) Mulimba (Malimba, Limba), 3,500 speakers.

(30) Bube-Benga Group

- (31) Bube (Bubi, Ediya, Fernandian).
- (32) Batanga (Tanga), two dialects:
 Banoo (Noo, Banaka, Banoh, Noko, Noho);
 Bapoko (Poko, Naka, Puku).

(33) Yasa, two dialects:

Yasa;

Kombe (Ngumbi).

(34) Benga.

(40) Basa Group

(41) Lombi (Rombi, Barembi), 1,000 speakers.

(42) Banken (Abe), 10,000 speakers.

(43) Basa (Bassa, Koke, Mvele), 170,000 speakers, three dialects:

Mbene, 150,000 speakers;

N. Kogo (N. Bakeke), 20,000 speakers including S. Kogo;

S. Kogo (S. Bakeko).

(44) Banen (Banend, Penin, Penyin), 26,500 speakers.

(45) Nye'e (Nyeken), 3,000 to 4,000 speakers.

(46) Mandi (Lemande) 4,000 to 5,000 speakers.

(50) Bafia Group

(51) Fa' (Fak, Balom), 4,000 speakers.

(52) Kaalorj (Mbonj), 50 speakers.

(53) Kpa (Bafia), 15,000 speakers.

(54) Ngayaba (Djanti), less than 1,000 speakers.

(60) Sanaga Group

(61) Ngero.

(62) Yambasa, 27,000 speakers.

(63) Mangisa, 14,000 speakers.

(64) Bacenga (Betsinga), 15,000 speakers.

(65) Bati.

(70) Yaunde-Fang Group

(71) Eten, 112,000 speakers.

(72) Ewende, 252,500 speakers, four main dialects:

Ewende (Jaunde, Yaunde), 93,000;

Mvele (Yezum), 140,000;

Bakja (Badjia), 14,000;

Yangafek, 5,500 speakers, possibly including subdialects;

Avak (Bafok), Lepak, Mengar and Yashem.

(73) Bebele-Gbigbil, 24,000 speakers.

(74) Bulu-Bene, 170,000 speakers.

(75) Farj (Pangwe, Pamue, Fän, Pahouin), 200,000 speakers, northern Farj known as Ntum, southern Farj as Make.

(80) Maka-Njem Group

(81) Mvumbo (Ngumba), 10,000 speakers, the most southerly of whom are known as Mabi (Mabea) or Bisiwo.

(82) So, 6,000 speakers.

(83) Makaa (Maka), 51,500 speakers, many divergent dialects.

(84) Njem-Bajue, 20,000 speakers, two dialects:

Njem (Djem, Dzimu, Kozime, Zimu);

Bajue (Badjue).

(85) Konabem-Bekwil, 8,000 speakers, two dialects:

Konabem (Konabembe), 3,000;

Bekwil (Bakwele), 5,000.

(86) Mbimu, 16,000 speakers, three dialects:

Medjime (-Baagato), 4,500;

Mpõmpõ (Bombo), 4,000;

Mpiemo (Mbimu) or Mpiemo-Bidjuki, 7,500.

(87) Bomwali.

(90) Kaka Group

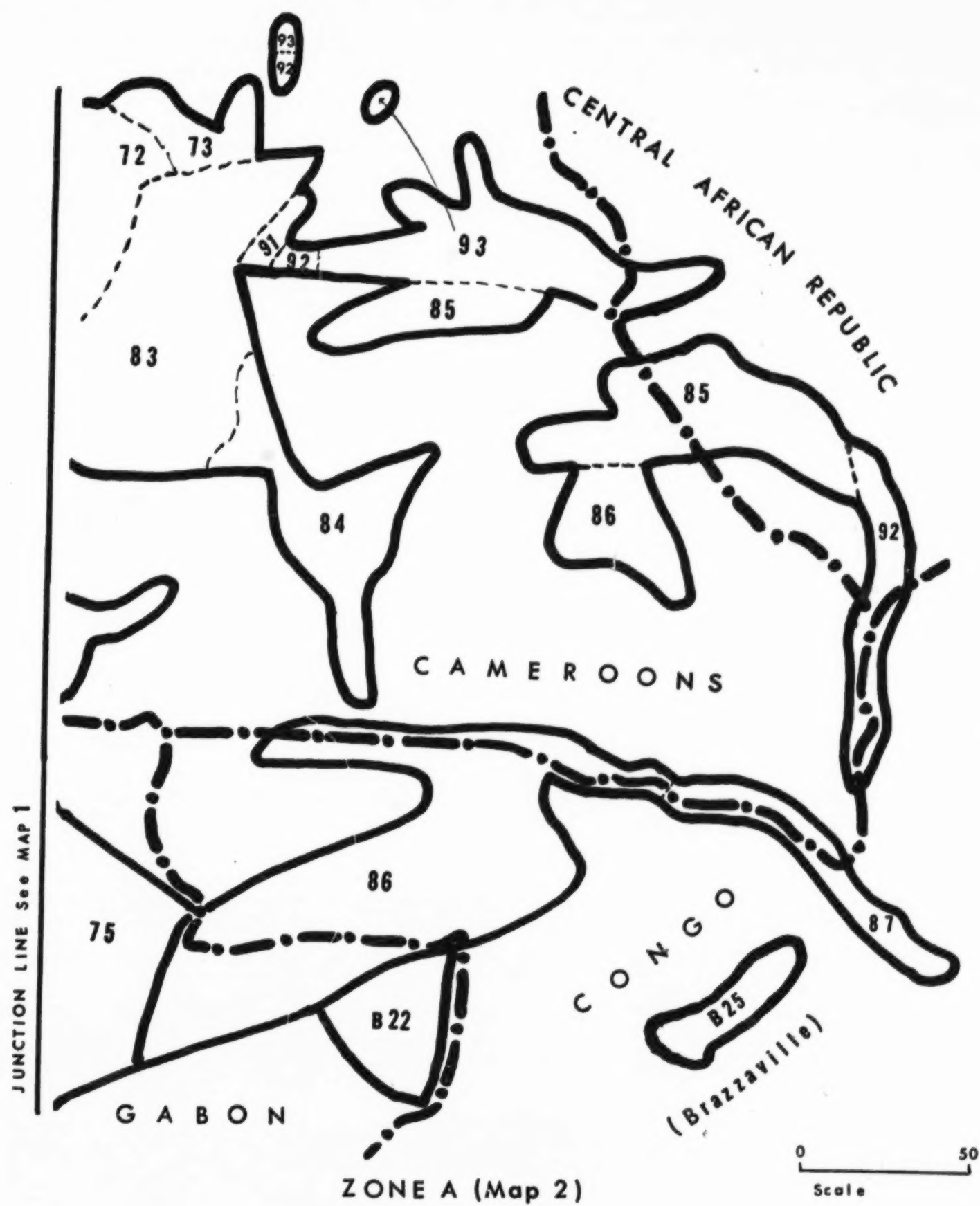
(91) Kwakum (Bakum, Pakum, Akpwakum), perhaps 3,000 speakers.

(92) Pol-Pomo, 2,000 speakers.

(93) Kako (Kaka, Yaka), 37,000 speakers.



JUNCTION LINE See MAP 2



ZONE B

The 33 languages of this zone are spoken in Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville) and Congo (Leopoldville). No single language is spoken by more than 50,000 speakers. Population figures for a score or so of these languages total 350,000; the remaining languages are not counted in this total.

Guthrie summarizes his own linguistic characterization of Zone B in one paragraph.

"Although this zone has some peculiar characteristics which are hardly to be found elsewhere in Bantu languages, yet on the whole it seems to occupy an intermediate position between the three neighboring zones, A, C, and H...There is a sufficient linguistic distinction shown by the bunching of the isoglosses along its boundaries to make Zone B a very useful set of groups."

The Zone B languages exhibit almost equal proportions of the so-called 'standard vocabularies' related to those from each of the three adjacent zones, A, C and H. Zones A, B, C and H form the only well-defined inter-zonal unit in Bantu— and the definition is in typological terms. Zone B stands at the center of this typological unit, linking A and C to H. Whereas the languages of Zones A and C have predominantly seven-vowel systems, and Zone H has predominantly five-vowel systems, Zone B, as the linking zone, has some languages with five-vowel systems (see 40, 53, 73-77 below) and others with seven-vowel systems (see 10, 20, 30, 51, 52, 60, 71, 81, 82 below). The languages of Zone B are listed below:

(10) Myene

(11) Myene, over 10,000 speakers, five dialects:

Mpongwe, 1,000;
Rongo (Orungu), 2,000;
Galwa (Omyene), 2,000;
Dyumba (Adjumba);
Nkomi, 5,000.

(20) Kele Group

(21) Sekiyani (Bulu, Sheke), almost extinct.

(22) Kele, over 15,000 speakers, three dialects:

W. Kele;

Ngom (Bangomo), 11,000;

Bubi, 4,000.

(23) Mbarwe, 2,000 speakers.

(24) Wumbvu, 4,000 speakers.

(25) Kota (Mahongwe, Shake), 28,000 speakers.

(30) Tsogo Group

(31) Tsogo (Mitsogo, Apindji).

(32) Kande (Okande), almost extinct.

(40) Shira-Punu Group

(41) Sira (Shira), 17,000 speakers.

(42) Sangu (Shango), 18,000 speakers.

(43) Punu, 46,000 speakers.

(44) Lumbu, 12,000 speakers.

(50) Njabi Group

(51) Duma (Aduma), 10,000 speakers.

(52) Nzebi (Njabi, Ndjevi, Bandzabi), 20,000 to 40,000 speakers.

(53) Tsaangi (Tcengui, Tchangu), 10,000 speakers.

(60) Mbete Group

(61) Mbete (Obamba), perhaps 43,000 speakers.

(62) Mbamba (Mbaama, Bakota), 12,000 speakers.

(63) Ndumbo (Minduumo, Dumbu, Ondumbo), 4,000 speakers, four dialects:

Kuya;

Epigi;

Kanandjoho;

Nyani.

(70) Teke Group

(71) N. Teke, 24,000 speakers, two dialects:

Tege-Kali, 15,000;

Njiniŋi (Njikini, Djikini), 9,000.

(72) N. E. Teke, two dialects:

Ngungwel (Ngungulu);

Mpũmpũ.

(73) W. Teke, over 32,000 speakers, four dialects:

Tsaayi (Ntsaayi), 30,000;

Laali;

Yaa(Yaka), 2,000;

Kwe.

(74) Central Teke, 15,000 speakers, two dialects:

Ndzindziu, 9,000;

Boŋ, 6,000.

(75) Bali (Ambali, Tio).

(76) E. Teke, two dialects:

Mosieno;

Nee.

(77) S. Teke, two dialects:

Kukwa (Kukuya, Cikuya);

Fumu, 200.

(78) Wumu (Wumbu).

(80) Tende-Yanzi Group

(81) Tiini (Tiene, Tende), 15,000 speakers.

(82) Boma (Buma), 8,000 speakers.

(83) Mfinu (Funika, Mfununga), three dialects:

Mfinu;

Ntswar;

Ntsiam.

(84) Mpuono, two dialects:

Mpuono proper;

Mpuun.

(85) Yans (Yanzi), five dialects:

Mbiem;

E. Yans;

Yeei (Yey);

Ntsuo;

Mpur.

(86) Di-Dzin.

(87) Mbuun (Mbunda).

(51) Tswa cluster, two dialects:

Hlengwe (Shihlengwe);

Tswa (Shitswa, Sheetswa, Xitswa) 500,000 speakers.

(52) Gwamba (Tsonga, Gwapa).

(53) Tsonga, 890,000 speakers, four dialects:

Hlanganu (Shangaan), 368,642 speakers, (1956);

Tsonga (Shitsonga, Thonga, Shithonga, Tonga);

Jonga (Djonga);

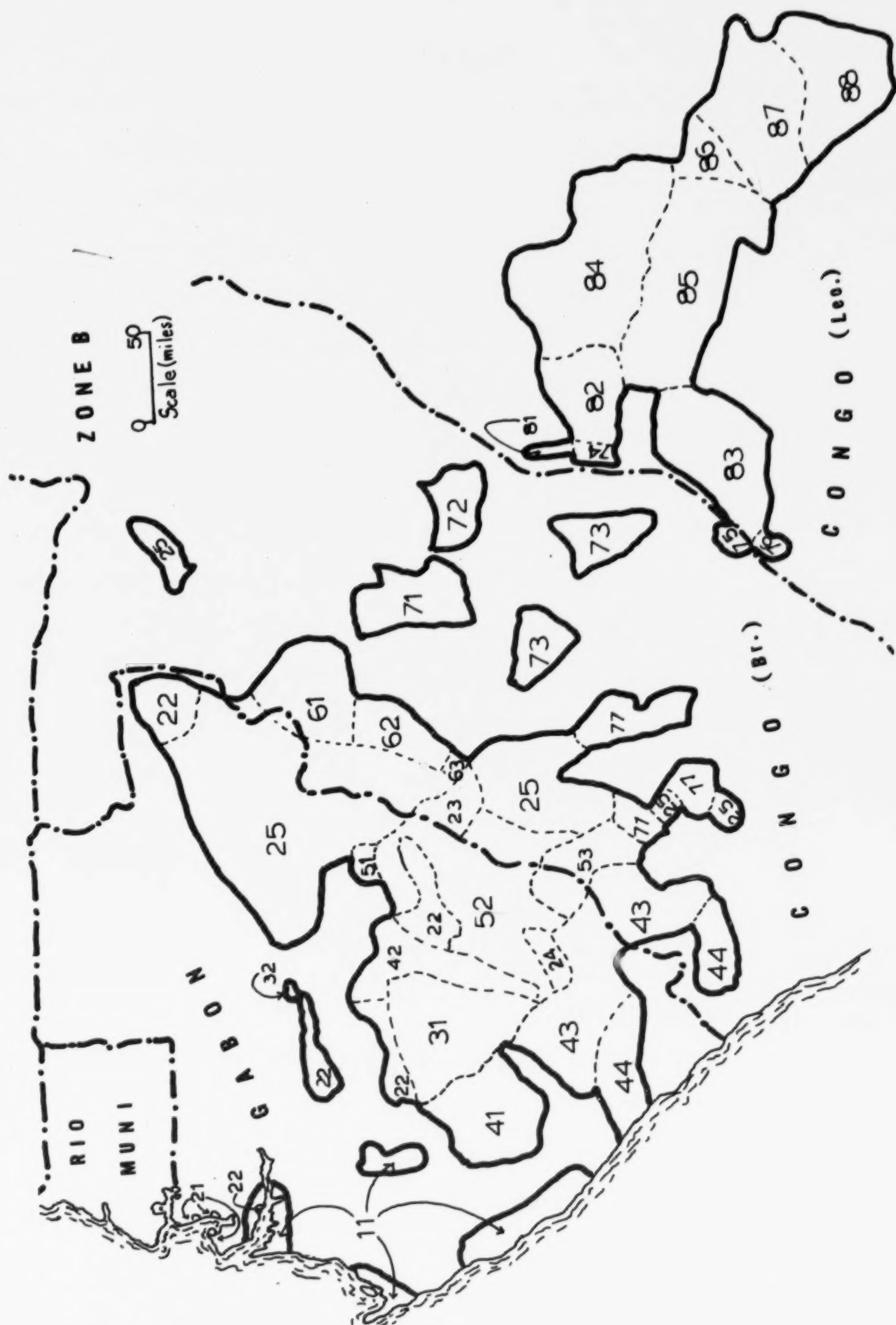
Bila.

(54) Ronga (Shironga), 1,000,000 speakers.

(60) Chopi Group

(61) Chopi (Shichopi, Copi, Shicopi, Tschopi, Lenge).

(62) Tonga (Gitonga, Shengwe).



ZONE C

There are 44 languages in this zone, divided into eight groups. The languages of groups (30) to (80) are all spoken in Congo (Leopoldville), and those of groups (10) to (20) are spoken in Congo (Brazzaville) and the Central African Republic. There are more than two million counted speakers for about half of the languages of Zone C; this partial sum of two million includes Lingala (Mangala) which alone is spoken by nearly 1,000,000. Population figures for the remaining languages are not often available.

Languages in Zone C share a generally uncomplicated typology according to Guthrie (1948):

"...the principal features of the languages of this zone are a simpler grammatical structure than is found in many others, coupled with a simple phonological and tonal system. This may, in fact, be taken to be one of the important areas of Bantu, displaying as it does fairly homogeneous linguistic characteristics which are different in many ways from those of other zones."

About 15 percent of the vocabulary is shared between languages of this and other zones. The percentage of related vocabulary between languages within Zone C averages about 40 percent. The languages of Zone C are listed below:

(10) Ngundi Group

(11) Ngondi (Ngundi).

(12) Pande (Ndjeli, Linyeli, Linzeli)-Bogongo (Bukongo, Bongili), 1,000 speakers of Pande alone.

(13) Mbatl (Isongo, Lissongo), 15,000 speakers.

(14) Mbomotaba (Bamitaba).

(15) Bongili (Bungiri, Bongiri).

(20) Mboshi Group

(21) Mboko

(22) Akwa.

(23) Ngare.

(24) Koyo.

(25) Mbosi (Mboshi).

(26) Kwala (Likwala).

(27) Kuba.

(30) Bangi-Ntumba Group

(31) Loi-Ngiri, three dialects:

Loi (Baloi, Rebu);

Ngiri;

Nunu.

(32) Bobangi (Bangi, Rebu).

(33) Sengele.

(34) Sakata.

(35) Ntomba-Bolia, two dialects:

Ntomba (Lontomba);

Bolia, about 45,000 speakers.

(36) Losengo, nearly 1,000,000 speakers, seven dialects:

Poto (Lifoto);

Mpesa;

Mbudza;

Mangala (Lingala), a lingua franca;

Boloki;

Kangana;

Leko (Eleko).

(37) Buja, 100,000 speakers.

The following comments on Lingala are quoted from James Redden, F. Bongo and associates (Foreign Service Institute, Washington, 1963):

"Lingala is a lingua franca or trade language spoken in the areas on both sides of the Congo River from Leopoldville up to about a hundred miles from Stanleyville. Lingala, usually called Mangala by Africans, was originally the language of the Bamangala, a Bantu tribe that has almost completely disappeared. Most speakers of Lingala are native speakers of another language and use Lingala as a means of communicating with other tribal groups and to a lesser extent with Europeans; however, there is a growing number of younger people, especially in urban centers such as Leopoldville, whose native language is Lingala. Since Lingala is spoken by so many people of varied linguistic backgrounds, it is inevitable that the language as spoken in different areas should vary to a greater or lesser degree."

(40) Ngombe Group

(41) Ngombe, 150,000 speakers.

(42) Bwela (Lingi).

(43) Bati (Benge).

(44) Boa (Bali, Bango).

(45) Arba (Ngelima, Beo, Tungu, Buru).

(50) Soko-Kele Group

(51) Mbesa (Mobesa).

(52) So (Soko, Heso, Eso), 6,000 speakers.

(53) Poke (Topoke, Tofoke), 46,000 speakers.

(54) Lombo (Turumbu, Olombo), 10,000 speakers.

(55) Kele (Lokele), about 20,000 speakers.

(56) Foma (Fuma).

(60) Mongo-Nkundo Group

(61) Mongo-Nkundo, over 217,000 speakers, five dialects:

Mongo (Lomongo), 80,000;

Nkundo (Lolo, Lokundu), 131,000;

Wangata;

Mpama, 6,000.

S. Nkundo, including subdialects Panga, Titu, Buuli, Bukala, Ekonda, Bakutu and Belongo.

(62) Lalia, 30,000 speakers.

(63) Ngando, 121,000 speakers.

(70) Tetela Group

(71) Tetela (Sungu), 30,000 speakers.

(72) Kusu (Kongola, Fuluka), 26,000 speakers.

(73) Nkutu (Nkucu, Bankutu).

(74) Yela (Kutu, Boyela), 33,000 speakers.

(75) Kela (Lemba) 50,000 to 100,000 speakers.

(76) Ombo (Loombo, Hombo, Songola).

(80) Kuba Group

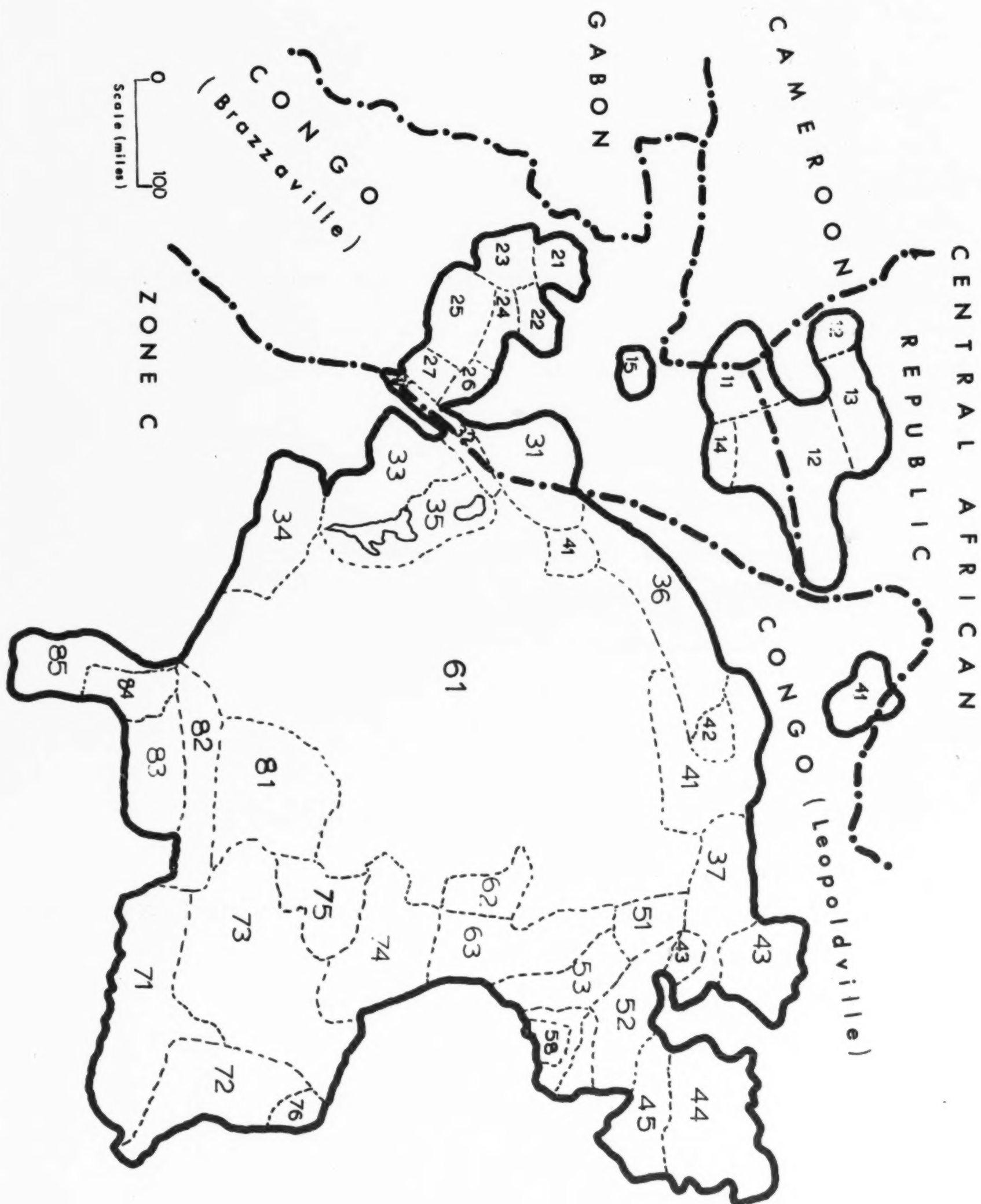
(81) Dengese (Nkutu, Ndengese, Ileo), 4,000 speakers.

(82) Songomeno, 30,000 to 40,000 speakers.

(83) Busoonj (Kuba, Mbala, Bushong, Mongo, Ganga, Shongo), 29,000 speakers.

(84) Lele, 26,000 speakers.

(85) Wongo (Tukungo, Gongo, Ndjembe), 5,000 speakers.



ZONE D

The languages of this zone are spoken in Congo (Leopoldville), Ruanda-Burundi, Tanganyika and to a lesser extent in Uganda. Six million speakers are counted for 18 of the 31 languages of Zone D; population figures for the remaining languages are not available. Ruanda and Rundi alone have a combined number of more than four million speakers. Nandi and Ha are spoken by over two million people each.

According to Guthrie (1948), Zone D can scarcely be characterized positively; hence it "is of little linguistic significance. There are [linguistic] reasons for not placing any of these groups in the neighboring zones, but few, apart from geographical contiguity, for making a zone out of them."

Group (60) is fairly well defined and extensively studied, but the other groups are highly tentative units, since there exists so far little detailed knowledge of them. The languages of Group (60) have five-vowel systems as against those of Groups (10) to (50) which have seven-vowel systems.

The list of all Zone D languages now follows.

(10) Mbole-Ena Group

(11) Mbole, 95,000 speakers.

(12) Lengola.

(13) Mituku.

(14) Ena (Enya, Genya).

(20) Lega-Kalenga Group

(21) Bali (S. E. Bua, Bango), 38,000 speakers, four dialects:

Bakundumu;

Bekení;

Bemili;

Bafwa Ndaka.

(22) Amba (Hamba, Bulebule), 26,500 speakers.

(23) Komo (Kumu), about 60,000 speakers.

(24) Songola.

(25) Lega (Rega).

(26) Zimba.

(27) Bangobango.

(28) Holoholo (Guha, Kalanga), 2,000 speakers.

(30) Bira-Huku Group

(31) Peri (Pere, Bili, Pakombe), 5,000 speakers, six dialects:

Bili;

Leedji;

Tike;

Baidumba;

Beka;

Hokohoko.

(32) Bira (Sese, Sumburu).

(33) Huku (Mbuba, Nyari, Bvanuma).

(40) Konjo Group

(41) Konzo (Konjo), 74,000 speakers.

(42) Ndandi (Nandi), including (dialects?)

Yira, N. Nande, Nande, Swaga, Shu, Lega-Hambo, Songoora and Sanza, total number of speakers about 225,000.

(43) Nyanga, 25,000 speakers.

(50) Bembe-Kabwari Group

(51) Hunde, 33,500 speakers—possibly to be included in addition are Shi (190,000), Lindja (4,500), Ziba (9,000), Hwindja (8,000) and Lenge-Lenge.

(52) Havu, 50,000 speakers.

(53) Nyabungu (Tembe), 15,000 speakers.

(54) Bembe.

(55) Buyi.

(56) Kabwari.

(60) Ruanda-Rundi Group

(61) Ruanda (Rwanda, Nyaruanda, Runyarwanda), 2,283,000 speakers, four

main dialects:

Rwanda proper;

Kiga;

Bufumbwa;

Hutu.

(62) Rundi, 2,185,000 speakers.

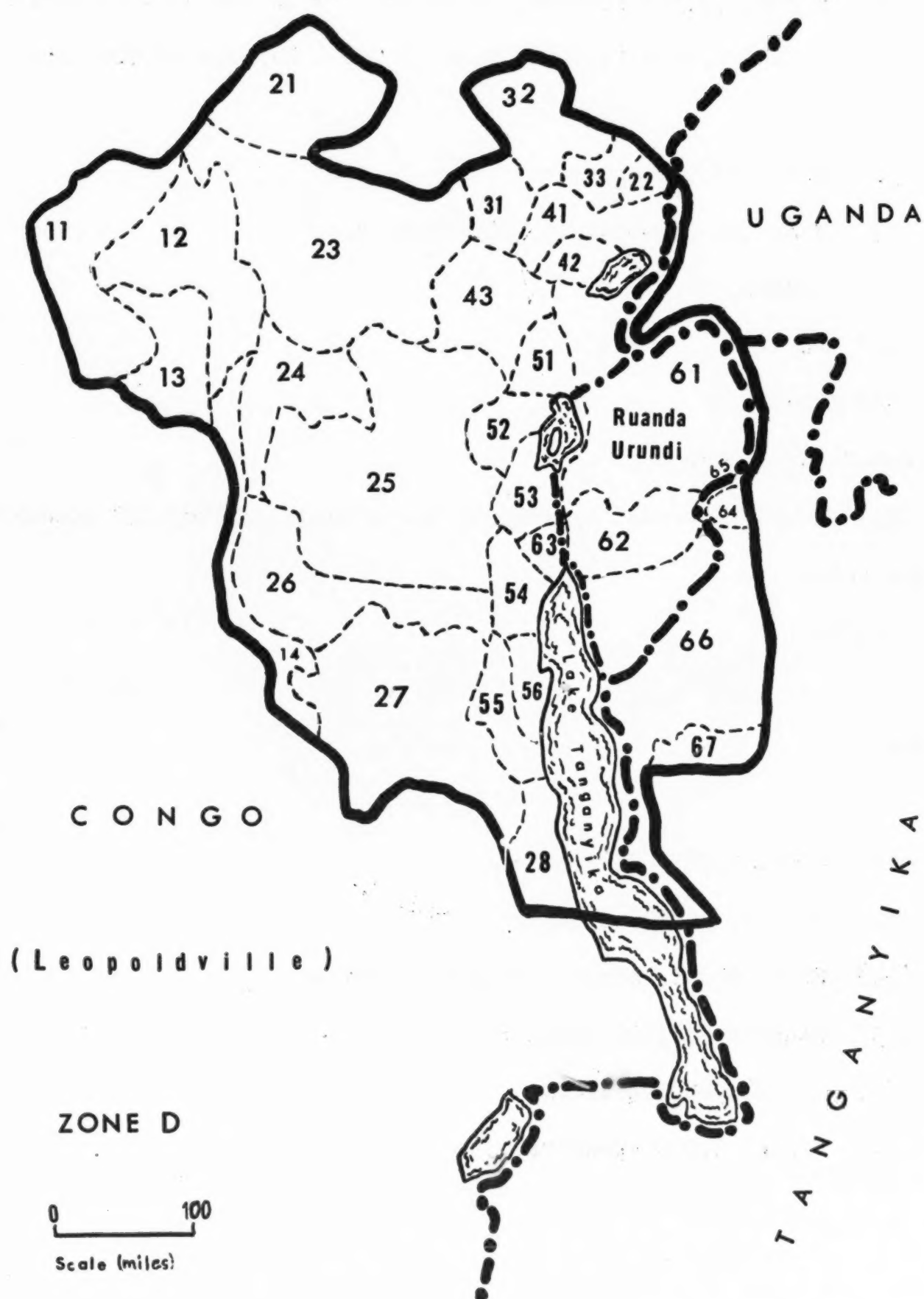
(63) Fulire, 56,000 speakers.

(64) Subi (Shubi, Sinja), 74,000 speakers.

(65) Hangaza, 54,000 speakers.

(66) Ha, 286,000 speakers.

(67) Vinza, 3,000 speakers.



ZONE E

The 38 languages of this zone are spoken mainly in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. In round numbers, seven million speakers are counted, but this count gives the total of speakers of only 31 languages out of the 38 in Zone E. Kikuyu is spoken by over a million speakers; Ganda, Luhya and Kamba by over half a million each.

Zone E is divided by Guthrie into seven groups with considerable confidence; as Guthrie says, 'there is a considerable amount of reliable data available, so the grouping is much less tentative than in some other zones'. The data used include conspicuously the so-called 'standard vocabularies'. For Zone E it is possible to say that 'the standard vocabularies contain a large proportion of words which can be related to those found in languages of other zones—20% in the case of Kikuyu.

Groups (10) to (50) are characterized by unusually many distinctions marked for tense—e.g. four degrees of past and four of present in Nyore (33).

The languages of Zone E are now listed.

(10) Nyore-Ganda Group

(11) Nyore (Gundu, Kyopi), 180,000 speakers.

(12) Tere (Toero), 163,000 speakers.

(13) Nyankole (Hima, Lunyankole, Nkole, Nkere), 388,000 speakers,

four dialects:

Hima (Huma);

Iru;

Herero;

Tagwenda.

- (14) Ciga (Chiga, Kiga), 272,000 speakers.
- (15) Ganda (Luganda), 838,000 speakers.
- (16) Soga, 427,000 speakers, with two dialects:

Northern;

Southern.

- (17) Gwere, over 82,000 speakers.
- (18) Nyala (Nyara).
- (20) Haya-Jita Group
 - (21) Nyambo (Karagwe, Ururgwe), 4,000 speakers.
 - (22) Ziba (Haya), over 264,000 speakers, with eight dialects:

Ziba;

Hamba;

Hangiro;

Nyakisasa;

Yoza;

Edangabo;

Bumbira;

Mweni.

- (23) Dzindza (Jinja, Zinza, Zinja, Ziba), 67,000 speakers.
- (24) Kerebe, over 31,000 speakers.
- (25) Jita (Kwaya), over 97,000 speakers.
- (30) Masaba-Lahya Group
 - (31) Masaba, over 253,500 speakers for one of the three dialects:
Gisu, 253,500, with three subdialects: Dadiri, Buya, and Northern Gisu;

Kisu;

Bukusu.

(32) Luhya (Luyia, Luluhya, Luluyia), 654,000 speakers, two dialects:
Hanga (Kowanga, Wanga, Xaayo, Manaci;
Tsoetso (Kakelele Wa, Nyala, Lewi,) with subdialects Isu Xa (Idakho, Itokeho,
Kakamega), Marama (Kisa), Tacoui.

(33) Nyore (Nyole).

(34) Saamia (Samia, Samya, Gwe), 60,000 speakers.

(35) Nyuli, 57,000 speakers.

(40) Ragoli-Kuria Group

(41) Logoli (Ragoli, Maragoli, Llogole).

(42) Gusii (Guzii, Kisii, Koseva) 258,500 speakers.

(43) Koria (Kuria, Kuryo, Tende), over 94,000 speakers, three dialects:

Sweta;

Kiroba;

Simbiti.

(44) Zanaki, 23,000 speakers, six dialects:

Zanaki;

Isenyi;

Ndali;

Siora;

Izizu;

Girango.

(45) Nata (Ikoma), 9,500 speakers.

(46) Senje (Senyo).

(50) Kikuyu-Kamba Group

(51) Gekoyo (Kikuyu, Gikuyu), 1,028,000 speakers.

(52) Embo, over 203,500 speakers.

(53) Mero (Meru), 350,000 speakers.

(54) Saraka (Tharaka, Chuka), 36,500 speakers.

(55) Kamba, 612,000 speakers.

(56) Dhaiso (Segeju, Sageju, Sengeju).

(60) Chaga (Shaka) Group

(61) Rwo (Meru).

(62) Caga (Shaka, Chaga, Chagga, Dschagga), 237,500 speakers, three dialects:

Hai (Moshi, Moci, Macame Mashami, Machame, Madschama);

Wujo (Marangu);

Rombo.

(63) Rusha (Arusha, Kuma).

(64) Kahe, 1,800 speakers.

(65) Gweno.

(70) Nyika-Taita Group

(71) Pokomo (Pfokomo), 16, 500 speakers.

(72) Nika (Nyika), over 39,000 speakers, five dialects:

Giryama;

Kauma;

Conyi;

Durama;

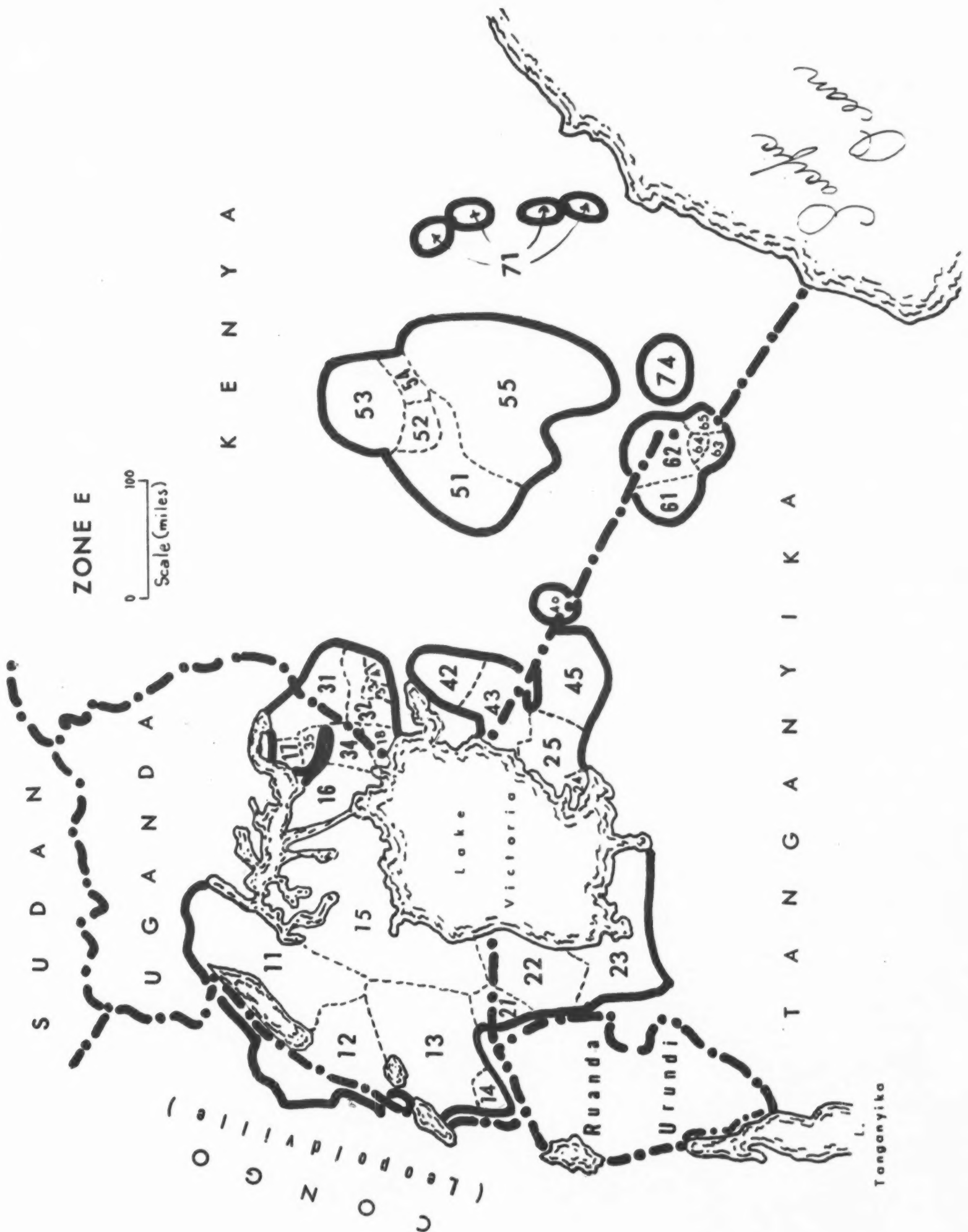
Rabai.

(73) Digo, over 32,000 speakers.

(74) Taita (Teita), 6,330 speakers, two dialects:

Dabida;

Sagala (Teri).



ZONE F

All eleven languages of this zone are spoken in Tanganyika, by surely more than two million speakers since the total number of speakers for seven of the eleven languages exceeds 1,732,000. Sukuma (21) has nearly 900,000 speakers, Nyamwezi (22) has 365,000, Nilamba (31) and Remi (32) have about 175,000 each.

Differential criteria in typology are utilized by Guthrie (1948):

"The boundaries of this zone are well defined, but it will be seen by comparing its characteristics with those of the adjoining ones that no one set of differentia can operate on all sides. Thus it [Zone F] is sharply distinguished from Zone H by its seven-vowel system, its use of two-vowel (sic.) quantities, and its use of lexical tone in radicals, as well as by certain grammatical features. From Zone E, however, it has to be distinguished by such features as the use of single nominal prefixes, and several characteristics of the tense system."

The boundaries of this zone are 'sharply defined by the coincidence of several isoglosses'.

The languages of Zone F are listed below in three fairly closely related groups:

(10) Tongwe Group

(11) Tongwe, 8,000 speakers.

(12) Bende, 7,000 speakers.

(20) Sukuma-Nyamwezi Group

(21) Sukuma (Give), 890,000 speakers.

(22) Nyamwesi (Namwezi, Nyamwezi), 365,000 speakers, four dialects:

Nyanyembe;

Takama (Garaganza);

Mweri (Sumbwa), 60,000;

Konongo, 15,000.

(23) Sumbwa.

(24) Kimbu, 9,000 speakers.

(25) Bungu.

(30) Ilamba-Irangi Group

(31) Nilamba (Ilamba, Niramba, Iramba), over 170,000 speakers.

(32) Remi (Nyaturu, Limi, Rimi), over 180,000 speakers.

(33) Langi (Irangi), over 95,000 speakers.

(34) Mbugwe, 8,000 speakers.



ZONE G

The languages of this zone are spoken mainly in Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar, Pemba and the Comoro Islands. The Swahili group (40) is represented by some seven million speakers (but see comment in list below). The remaining languages are, altogether, spoken by another million and a half people.

Guthrie divides this zone into six groups, the last of which, (60), is the most divergent. All the languages of Zone G have seven-vowel systems except Sango (61) and Kinga (65) which have five-vowel systems.

(10) Gogo Group

(11) Gogo, over 270,000 speakers.

(12) Kagulu (N. Sagara, Kaguru), 60,000 speakers.

(20) Shambala Group

(21) Tubeta (Taveta).

(22) Asu (Pare, Chasu, Athu), 100,000 speakers, probably includes Gweno (see E. 65 above).

(23) Sambaa (Sambara, Shambala, Sambara, Schambala, Shambaaa, etc.), 130,000 speakers.

(24) Bordei (Bonde), 30,000 speakers.

(30) Zigula-Zaramo Group

(31) Zigula (Zigua, Zeguha), 115,000 speakers.

(32) Nhwela (Nghwela).

(33) Zaramo (Dzalamo), 180,000 speakers, perhaps including Nhwela (32).

(34) Ngulu (Nguru), over 65,000 speakers.

(35) Ruguru (Luguru), 180,000 speakers.

(36) Kami.

(37) Kutu (Khutu), 15,000 speakers.

- (38) Vidunda, over 10,000 speakers.
- (39) Sagala, 20,000 speakers.
- (40) Swahili (Suaheli) Group
 - (41) Tikuu (Tukulu, Tikulu, Gunya).
 - (42) Swahili, four dialects:

Amu (Lamu);

Mvita;

Mrima;

Unguja.

- (43) Pemba, three dialects:

Phemba (Pemba);

Tumbatu;

Hadimu.

- (44) Komoro, two dialects:

Ngazija (Ngazidja);

Njuani (Hinzua, Nzuani).

The total number of speakers for the whole Swahili Group may be as high as seven million, but such a figure undoubtedly includes many people 'who speak only a few intelligible words and understand little more' (Welmers).

- (50) Pogolo Group

- (51) Pogolo (Pogoro), 65,000 speakers.

- (52) Ndamba, 20,000 speakers.

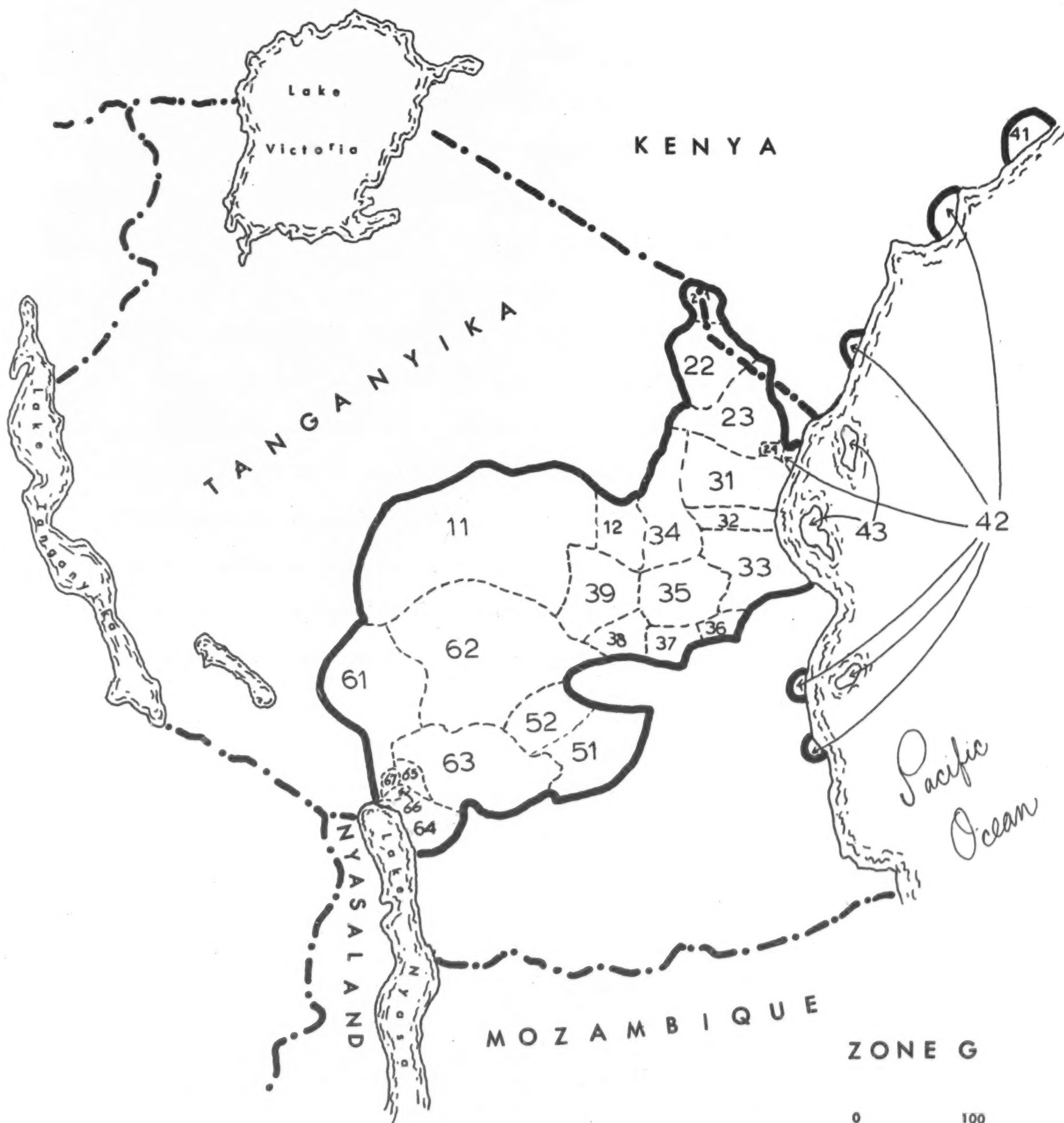
- (60) Bena-Kinga Group

- (61) Sango (Sangu, Rori), 25,000 speakers.

- (62) Hehe, over 190,000 speakers.

- (63) Bena, 160,000 speakers.

- (64) Pangwa, 38,000 speakers.
- (65) Kinga, 57,000 speakers.
- (66) Wanji, 18,000 speakers.
- (67) Kisi (Kisii), 4,000 speakers.



NOTE: 44 is located on the Comoro Islands (not shown)

ZONE H

The twenty languages of this zone are spoken in Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cabinda and Angola. The outstanding language of Zone H is Kongo, also known as Kikongo, on which the lingua franca Kituba (Munukutuba) is primarily based; for an explication of Kituba, see final note in this section.

Information concerning the number of speakers of the languages of this zone is in most cases not available. Kongo (including Kituba) is spoken by one and a half million speakers, and Mbundu by one million speakers.

Apart from Kongo (16) and Mbundu (21) the languages of this zone still await detailed investigation, so that the zone as a whole, as well as the four groupings within, are to be taken as preliminary and tentative. A high proportion of vocabulary is peculiar to these Zone H language, on the one hand; on the other hand, Zone H languages share a relatively large number of structural features with Zone B languages.

The languages of Zone H are now listed.

(10) Kikongo Group

(11) Bembe.

(12) Villi.

(13) Kunyi.

(14) Ndingi (Ndinzi, Ngingi).

(15) Mboka.

(16) Kongo 1,500,000 speakers, nine dialects:

S. Kongo (Xikongo);

C. Kongo;

Yombe;

W. Kongo (Fiote);

Bwende (Ngoy, Buende, Flot);

Laadi;

E. Kongo;

SE. Kongo;

Zombo (Nzombo).

(20) Kimbundu Group

(21) Mbundu (Ndongo, Nundu, N'Bundo), 1,000,000 speakers.

(22) Mbamba (Bambeiro, Njinga, Jinga, Ginga), 71,000 speakers.

(23) Sama (Kissama, Quissama), 9,000 speakers.

(24) Ngola, 41,000 speakers.

(25) Bolo (Haka, Libolo).

(26) Songo (Nsongo), 15,000 speakers.

(30) Kiyaka Group

(31) Yaka.

(32) Suku, 74,000 speakers.

(33) Hungu (Holo, Hungo), over 66,000 speakers.

(34) Tembo.

(35) Mbangala, two dialects:

Mbangala;

Yongo.

(36) Shinji (Yungo, Xinji, Nungo).

(40) Kimbala Group

(41) Mbala.

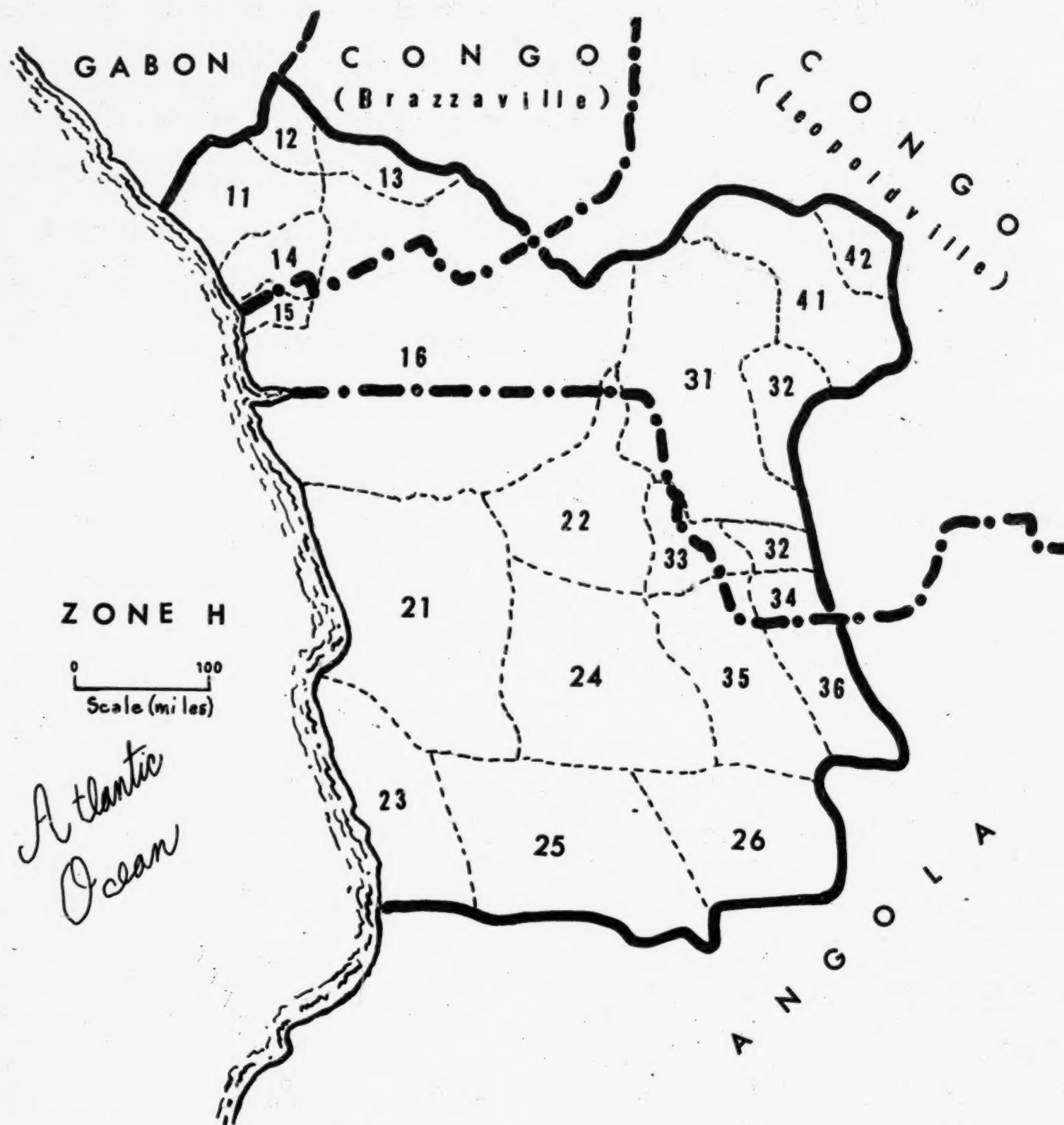
(42) Huranna (Huana, Hungaan).

The following note on Kituba, taken from L. B. Swift and E. W. A. Zola, *Kituba Basic Course* (Foreign Service Institute, Washington, 1963), suggests that when Kituba was a pidgin, a language barrier existed between it and Kikongo, for example. The language barrier still exists, apparently, even though Kituba is now creolized, it is contrasted with 'tribal languages'. Do speakers of such tribal languages as Kikongo learn modern Kituba as a divergent dialect or as a separate language?

"The Kituba language appears to have arisen out of a need for inter-communication between up-river Congolese tribes speaking dialects of Lingala etc. and lower-river tribes speaking primarily dialects of Kikongo. This process began before the advent of Europeans in the inland areas but was apparently a response to trading needs stimulated by the arrival of European traders on the coast. Thus at the time of its original development Kituba was a pidgin language, an alteration of (primarily) Kikongo to meet the needs of inter-group communication. Later it began to become creolized as some people came to use it in the home as their primary language. The number of people to whom it is the 'native' language is probably still very small and the great majority of those who use this language (and there are perhaps 1,500,000 of these) also speak another, often several others."

"The name of the language presents a problem. There are two main, mutually intelligible dialects. That of the eastern or Kwango-Kwilu region is called Kituba in some sections, Kikongo in others, the latter name reflecting the absence of speakers of real tribal Kikongo in that area. In the western areas of Congo (Leopoldville) the language is most often called Kikongo ya Leta, or Government Kikongo. In Congo (Brazzaville) it is called Munukutuba..."

"Kituba has been associated with the Belgian colonial administration, since it proved useful to Europeans who found it easier to use than Kikongo or other tribal languages. For this reason there is some residual feeling that the use of Kituba is an indication of opposition to the nationalist aspiration of, especially, the Bankongo people. However, it provides a means of communicating with a large number of people, speakers of various Kikongo dialects and a variety of other languages, and in certain areas where the tribal linguistic picture is very complicated, it shows sign of increasing use."



ZONE K
(no Zones are labelled I or J)

The eighteen languages in Zone K are spoken altogether by a million speakers, mostly in Northern Rhodesia and Angola; and, in the case of two languages, in Congo (Leopoldville) and Bechuanaland. More than half of the speakers of Zone K languages speak Chokwe (11): 600,000 speakers.

This zone appears to be fairly well established; an exception is group (30) for which supporting data are inadequate. All the languages of Zone K have five-vowel systems. A list of these languages now follows.

(10) Chokwe-Luchazi Group

(11) Ciokwe (Cioko, Djok, Chokwe, Shioko, Tschokwe, Tshiboko, Tshiok, etc.), over 600,000 speakers.

(12) Luimbi (Luimbe), about 500 speakers, three dialects:

Luimbi;

Ambwela;

Ngangela.

(13) Lucazi (Lujazi, Ponda, Luchazi), 60,000 speakers.

(14) Lwena (Lovale, Lubale), 90,000 speakers.

(15) Mbunda (Mbuunda, Gimbunda, Kimbunda) 25,000 speakers.

(16) Nyengo, 5,000 speakers.

(17) Mbwela (Mbweru, Ambuella).

(18) Nkangala.

(20) Lozi Group

(21) Lozi (Kololo, Rozi, Rotse, Rozvi), 70,000 speakers.

(30) Luyana Group

(31) Luyana (Luyi, Lui, Luano, Rouyi, Yana), 3,500 speakers.

(32) Mbowe, 5,500 speakers.

(33) Kwangari (Kwangali), three dialects:

Sambyu (Sambio);

Mbogedo (Diriku, Diriko, Gciriku);

Mbukushu (Mampukush, Mambukush, Mbukuhu, Goba).

(34) Mashi, 4,500 speakers.

(35) Simaa, over 9,000 speakers.

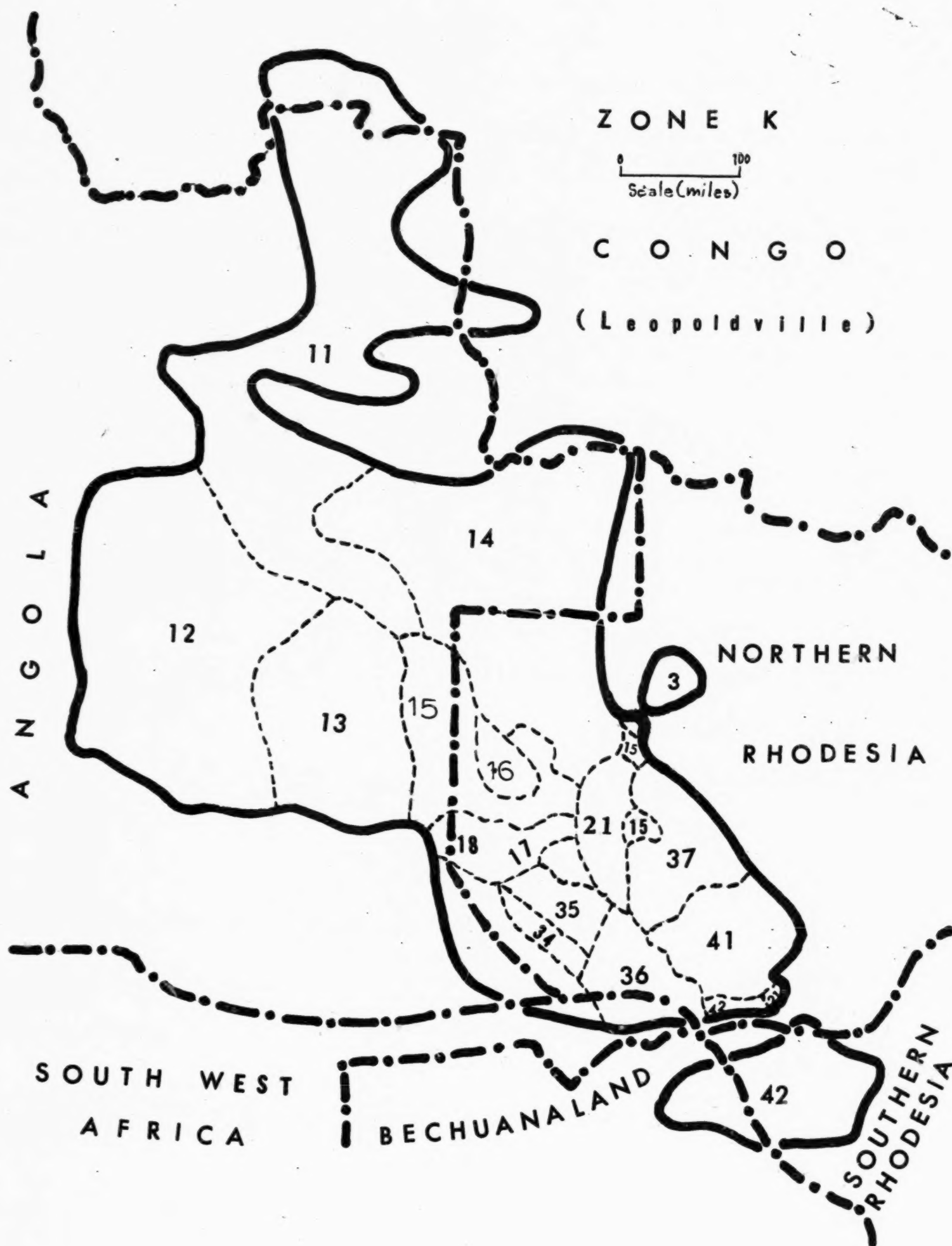
(36) Shango, 8,000 speakers.

(37) Kwangwa, 26,000 speakers.

(40) Subiya Group

(41) Totela, 15,000 speakers.

(42) Subia (Ikuhane), 3,000 speakers.



ZONE L

The eighteen languages of this zone are spoken largely in Congo (Leopoldville) and in Northern Rhodesia; groups (40) and (50) in particular are centered in Northern Rhodesia. The most important language of this zone is Luba-Lulua with some 3,400,000 speakers. No population figures are available for over half of the remaining languages.

Guthrie states that the languages of the Zone L groups are strikingly similar, exhibiting in general the features which are usually considered to be typical of Bantu languages. All the Zone L languages have five-vowel systems. There is also an alternation of tone on radicals throughout.

The languages of Zone L are now listed.

(10) Pende Group

(11) Pende (Pindi, Pinji), 27,000 speakers.

(12) Samba (Tsaamba, Tsaam).

(13) Kwese (Pindi).

(20) Songe Group

(21) Kete (Kikete).

(22) Binji (Binjii), 64,000 speakers.

(23) Songe (Songi, Kalebwe, NE. Luba, Yembe), 180,000 speakers (very uncertain).

(24) Luna (Luna Inkongo, Inkongo, N. Luba).

(30) Luba Group

(31) Luba-Lulua (Kalebwe, W. Luba, Tshiluba, Luva), 3,400,000 speakers, three dialects:

Luba-Kasai (Luba, Ciluba);

Lulua;

Lange.

(32) Kanyoka (Cikanyoka, Kanioka).

(33) Luba-Katanga (Luba, Kiluba).

(34) Hemba (Kihemba, Luba-Hemba, E. Luba).

(35) Sanga (Chiluba, Luba-Sanga, S. Luba).

(40) Kaonde Group

(41) Kaonde (Kahonde, Kawonde), 38,000 speakers (1934).

(50) Lunda Group

(51) Salampasu (Tshimpasu), 60,000 speakers.

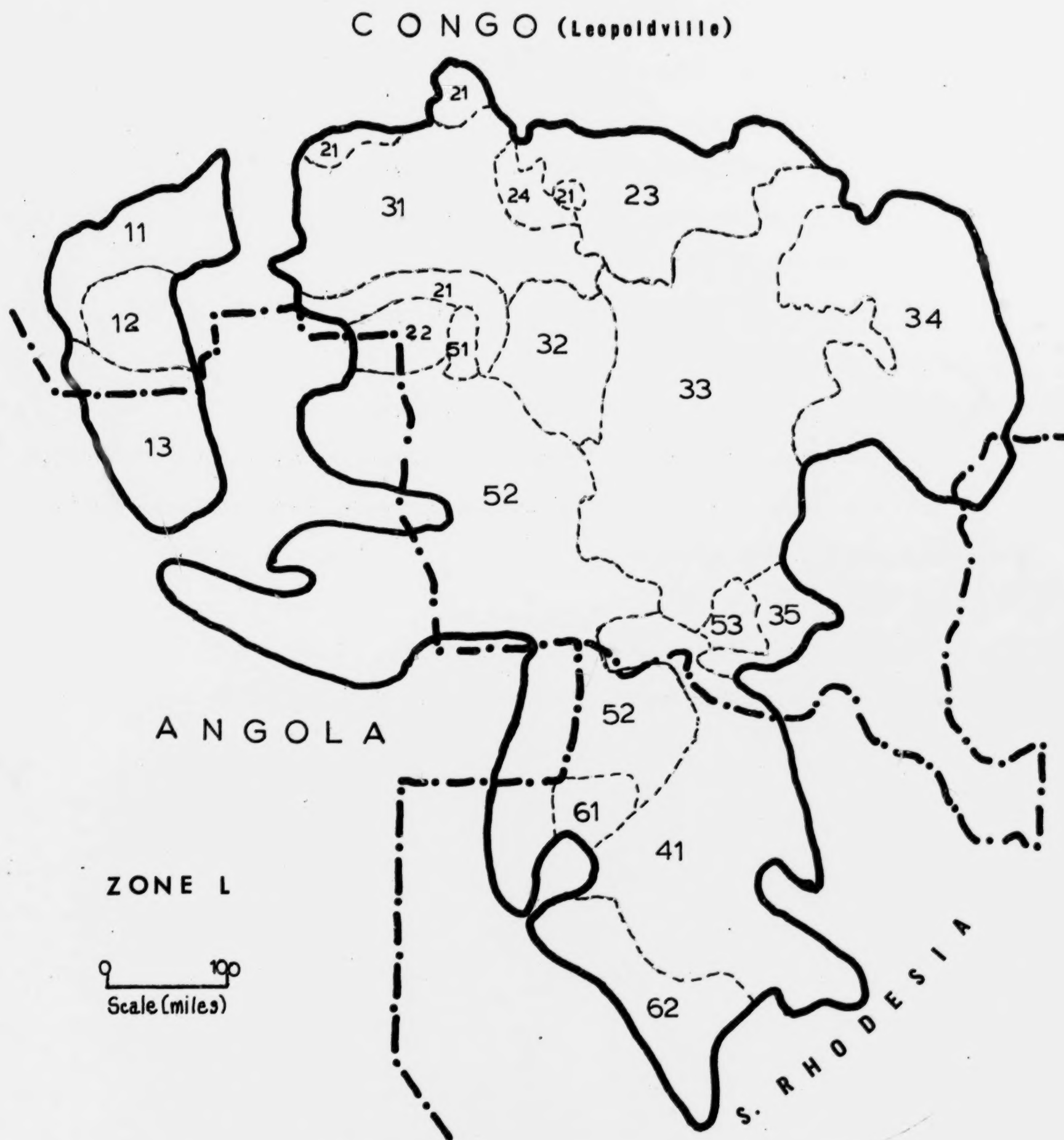
(52) Lunda (Cilunda, S. Lunda, Ndembo, Ndembu), 82,000 speakers (1934).

(53) Luwunda (Ruund, Uruund, Luunda, N. Lunda, Lunda Muatiavua, Lunda Muatiamvua), 20,000 speakers.

(60) Nkoya Group

(61) Mbwera (Shimbwera), 36,000 speakers.

(62) Nkoya (Shinkoya) 19,000 speakers (1934).



ZONE M

The two dozen languages of this zone are spoken in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Congo (Leopoldville). The total number of speakers is about a million, with Nyekyosa (31) exceeding the others in number of speakers: 254,000.

The boundaries of this zone are in general well defined in spite of an occasional divergence from smooth homogeneity. Some of the languages have five-vowel systems, others have seven-vowel systems. Except for group (60), tone is often the only feature distinguishing tenses. Nyekyosa (31) is peculiar in that it makes no use of tone at all.

The languages of Zone M are now listed.

(10) Fipa-Mambwe Group

- (11) Pimbwe (Icipimbwe), 8,000 speakers.
- (12) Rungwa (Icirungwa) 5,000 speakers.
- (13) Fipa (Icifipa), 78,000 speakers.
- (14) Rungu (Icirungu, Lungu), 34,000 speakers.
- (15) Mambwe (Icimambwe, Kimambwe), 28,000 speakers.

(20) Nyika-Safwa Group

- (21) Wanda (Iciwanda, Wandia), 6,000 speakers (1934).
- (22) Mwanga (Namwanga, Nyamwanga, Inamwanga, Iciinamwanga)
32,000 speakers.
- (23) Nyiha (Ishinyiha, Nyika, Nyixa), 59,000 speakers.
- (24) Malila (Ishimalila), 17,000 speakers.
- (25) Safwa (Ishisafwa), 46,000 speakers.
- (26) Iwa, 7,000 speakers (1934).
- (27) Tambo (Tembo), 3,000 speakers (1934).

(30) Konde Group

(31) Nyekyosa (Ekenyekyosa, Nyakyusa, Konde, Kukwe, Sokili) 254,000 speakers.

(40) Bemba Group

(41) Taabwa, two dialects:

Taabwa (Icitaabwa, Tabwa, Rungu), 13,000 speakers;

Shila.

(42) Bemba (Wemba), c. 170,000 speakers (1937-39), five dialects:

Bemba;

Ngoma;

Lomotua;

Nwesi;

Lembue.

(50) Bisa-Lamba Group

(51) Biisa (Icibiisa, Bisa, Wisa), 42,000 speakers (1934).

(52) Lala (Icilala), 60,000 speakers (1934).

(53) Swaka (Icисwaka, Maswaka), 12,000 speakers (1934).

(54) Lamba (Icilamba), 70,000-80,000 speakers (1938).

(55) Seba (Sewa, Shishi), over 7,000 speakers.

(60) Lenje-Tonga Group

(61) Lenje (Cilenje, Ciina Mukuni), 33,000 speakers (1946).

(62) Soli (Cisoli), c. 13,000 speakers (1946).

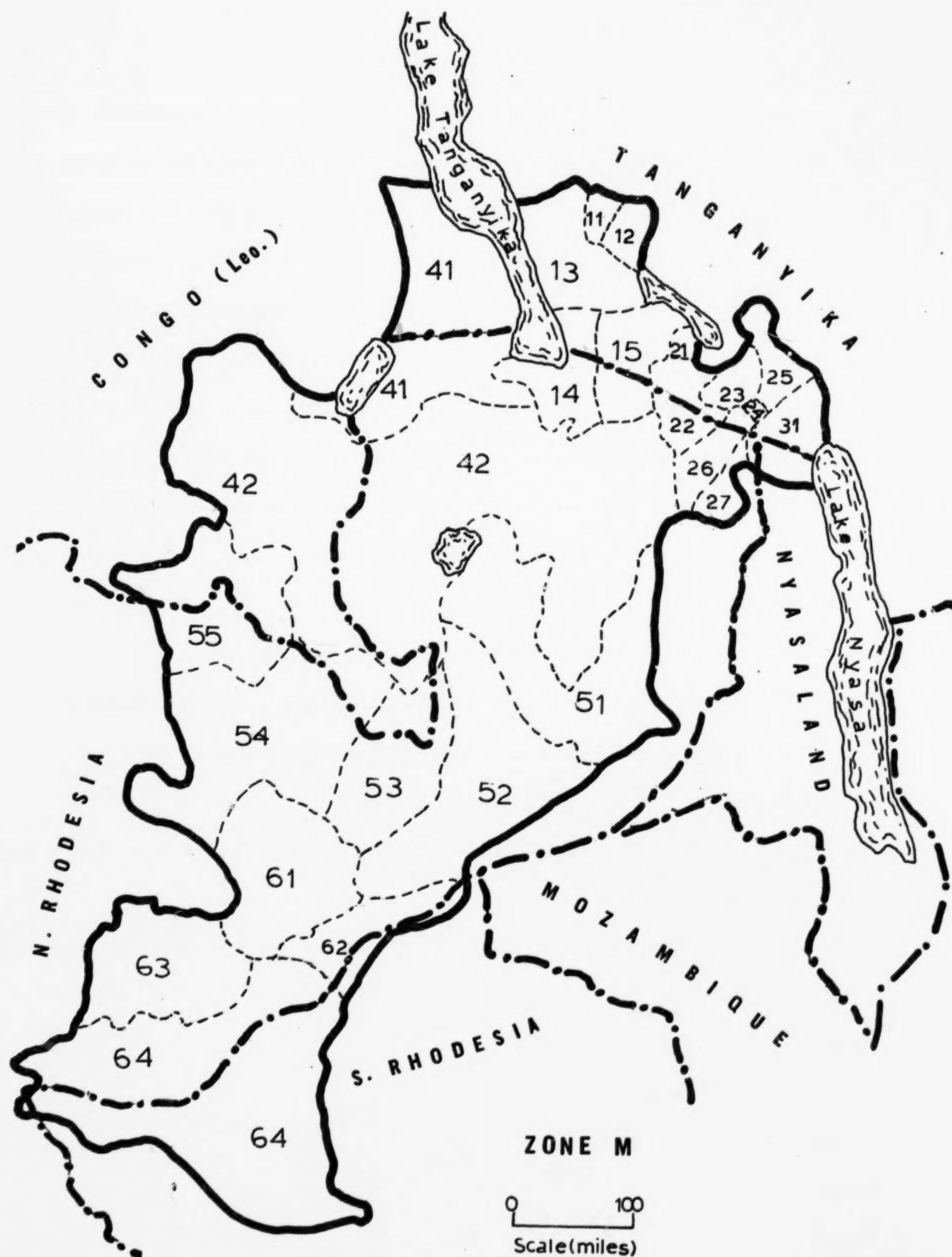
(63) Ila (Ciila), c. 130,000 speakers (1946).

(64) .Tonga, c. 70,000-110,000 speakers (1946), three dialects:

Tonga (Citonga, Plateau Tonga);

Toka;

Leya.



ZONE N

The thirteen languages of Zone N, in Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Mozambique, are surely spoken by more than two million people, since the number of speakers counted for ten of the languages comes to 1,692,000. Nyanja (31) has almost a million speakers. Ngoni (12), Tumbuka (21), and Sena (44) have over a hundred thousand speakers each.

Zone N is well defined as a whole. Three of its four constituent groups have five-vowel systems; the remaining group, (10), has a seven-vowel system. Aspirated stops contrasting with non-aspirated stops occur in most of the languages of Zone N and the verbal prefix *ti-* we occurs throughout.

The language list for Zone N now follows.

(10) Manda Group

(11) Manda (Kimanda, Nyasa), 10,000 speakers.

(12) Ngoni (Cingoni, Kingoni, Sutu, Kisutu), 103,000 speakers.

(13) Matengo (Cimatengo, Kimatengo), 58,000 speakers.

(14) Mpoto (Cimpoto, Kimpoto, Nyasa).

(15) Tonga (Citonga, Kitonga, Siska, Sisya, W. Nyasa), 50,000 speakers.

(20) Tumbuka Group

(21) Tumbuka (Tambuka, Timbuka, Tumboka), c. 156,000 speakers (1934),

nine dialects:

Tumbuka (Citumbuka, Tombucas);

Poka (Cipoka, Phoka);

Kamanga (Cikamanga, Henga);

Senga;

Yombe;

Fungwe;

Wenya;

Lambia (Lambya, Lambwa);

Wandia.

(30) Nyanja Group

(31) Nyanja, over 965,000 speakers, three dialects:

Nyanja (Cinyanja), 312,000 speakers;

Maranja (Cimaranja);

Cewa (Cicewa, Peta), 653,000 speakers.

(40) Senga-Sena Group

(41) Nsenga (Cinsenga, Senga), over 45,000 speakers.

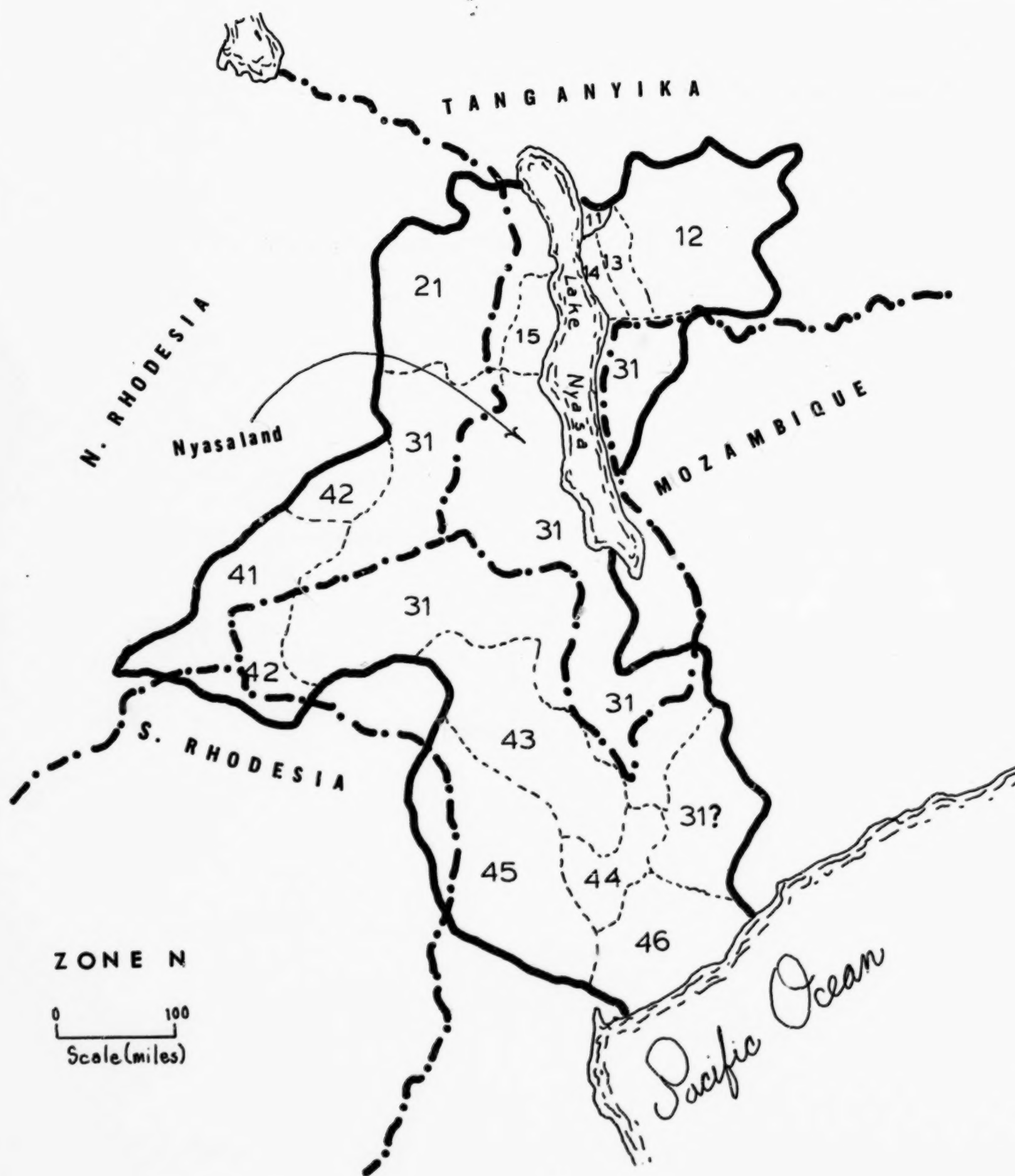
(42) Kunda (Cikunda, Chikunda), 100,000 speakers.

(43) Nyungwe (Cinyungwe, Teta).

(44) Sena (Cisena), 200,000 speakers.

(45) Rue (Cirue).

(46) Podzo (Cipodzo), 5,000 speakers (1936).



ZONE P

(follows after Zone N, without intervening O)

The fourteen languages of Zone P are spoken in Tanganyika, Mozambique and Nyasaland. The total number of speakers of all languages in Zone P approximates two million. Yao and Ngulu are spoken by nearly half a million speakers each.

The relationship between groups (10) and (20) of this zone is fairly close; that of group (30) is relatively divergent. Nonetheless, 'the languages of these groups have more in common with one another than with those in adjacent zones' (Guthrie, 1948). The languages of group (10) have seven-vowel systems; those of groups (20) and (30) have five-vowel systems. The lexical resources of the languages of groups (10) and (20) seem to include shared innovations; Guthrie makes the interesting comment that some of the common words in languages of these groups have no counterparts elsewhere.

The language list for Zone P now follows.

(10) Matumbi Group

(11) Ndengereko (Kindengereko), 53,000 speakers.

(12) Ruihi (Kiruihi, Rufiji), 71,000 speakers.

(13) Matumbi (Kimatumbi), 41,000 speakers.

(14) Ngindo (Kingindo), 85,000 speakers.

(15) Mbunga, 10,000 speakers.

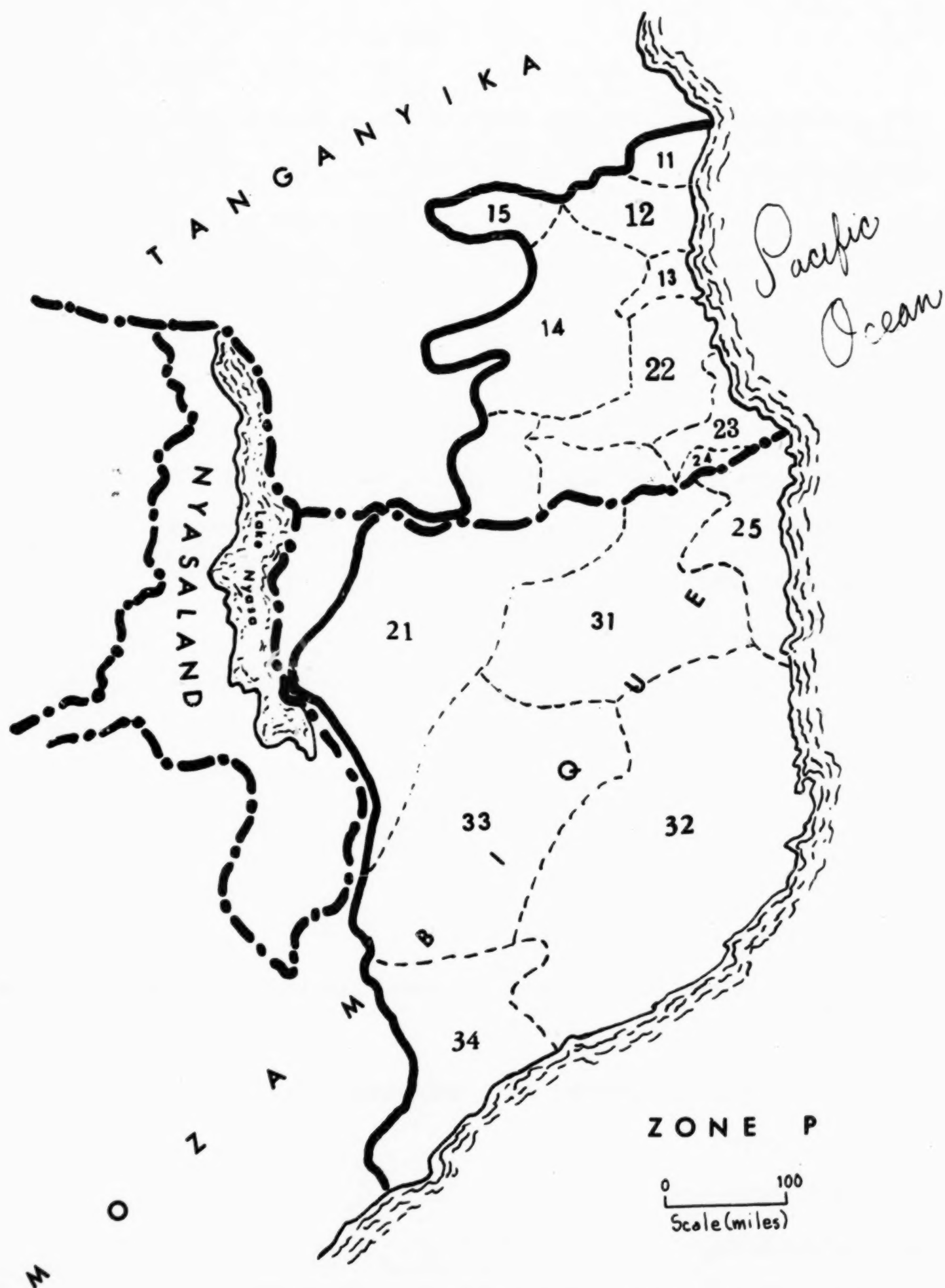
(20) Yao Group

(21) Yao (Ciyao, Ayo, Djao, Adsawa, Adsoa, Ayawa, Achawa, Hiao, Hyao, Haiao, Veiao, Wajao), over 408,000 speakers.

(22) Mwera (Cimwera, Mwela), 126,000 speakers.

(23) Makonde (Cimakonde, Chinimakonde), 281,000 speakers.

- (24) Ndonde (Cindonde, Kimawanda), 12,000 speakers.
- (25) Mabiha (Cimabiha, Mavia, Maviha, Mawia, Mawiha), c. 70,000 speakers.
- (30) Makua Group
 - (31) Makua (Imakua, Makoa, Makoane, Makwa, Mato). 1,000,000 speakers (possibly including the whole group).
 - (32) Lomwe (Ilomwe, Lolo, Lomue, Cilowe, Nguru, W. Makua).
 - (33) Ngulu (Ingulu, Nguru, Mihavane, Mihavani, Mihawani, W. Makua), more than 379,638 speakers.
 - (34) Cuabo (Cicuabo, Chuabo, Chwabo, Cuambo, Lolo).



ZONE R

(follows after Zone P, without intervening Q)

The ten languages of Zone R are spoken in Angola, South West Africa and Bechuanaland. Mbundu has over one and a half million speakers, but population figures are not available for most of the other nine languages of this zone which is characterized as follows by Guthrie (1948):

"This zone is sharply distinguished from its neighbours, but it is not easy to indicate the features which are peculiar to it [e.g. all have five-vowel systems]. This is largely because the characteristics which separate it from the languages on the north (i.e. in Zone H) are different from those which separate it from those on the east (i.e. Zones K and S)."

The language list for Zone R now follows.

(10) Umbundu Group

(11) Mbundu (Umbundu, M'Bundo, Quimbundo, Kimbunda, Nano, Mbali, Mbari), 1,700,000 speakers.

(12) Ndombe.

(13) Nyaneka (Lunyaneka), c. 40,000 speakers (1915).

(14) Khumbi.

(20) Ndonga Group

(21) Kwanyama (Ocikwanyama, Cuanhama, Kwanyama, Oshikuanjama, Osikuanjama, Ovambo, Humba).

(22) Ndonga (Ocindonga, Ambo, Oshindonga, Osindonga).

(23) Kwambi.

(24) Ngandyera

(30) Herero Group

(31) Herero cluster, c. 25,000, three dialects:

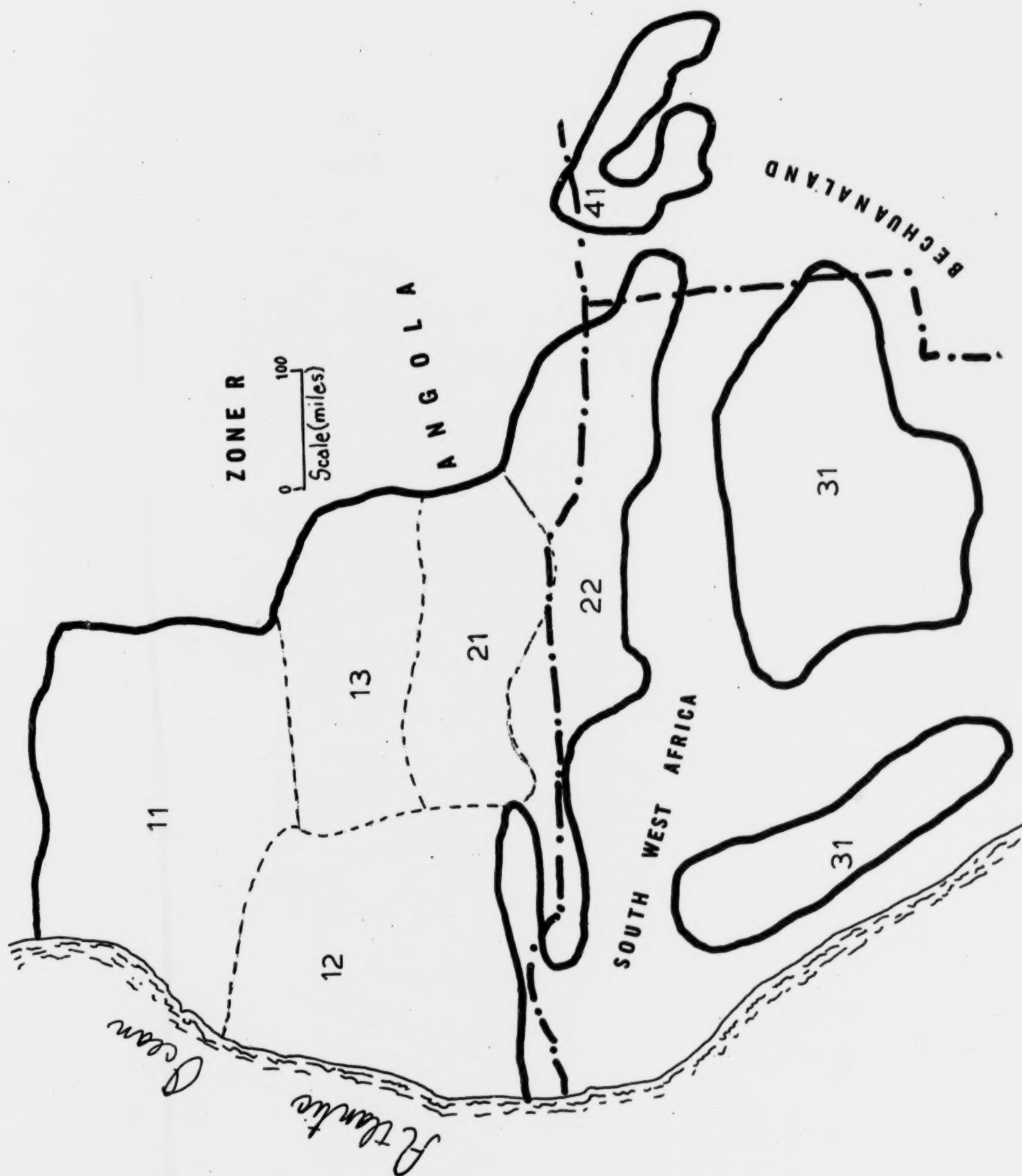
Herero (Otjiherero, Otyiherero);

Mbandieru;

Cimba (Himba, Tjimba, Simba).

(40) Yeye Group

(41) Yeei (Yeye, Yei, Ciyei, Yeyi, Kuba, Koba).



ZONE S

The twenty languages of Zone S are spoken by some thirteen million speakers in Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, South Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. The numerically outstanding languages of this zone are Southern Sotho (33) and Zulu-Ngoni (42), each with three million speakers, and Xhosa (41) with two and a half million speakers.

Many linguistic features listed by Guthrie (1948) clearly show a very close relationship between the various groups, even though they may not be universal for all of Zone S. Some morphological features do, however, occur throughout the whole zone; for example, the passive suffix -u~iu, and the occurrence in each language of about ten radicals consisting of a single consonant (e.g. -n- rain). The very fact that such universals and near universals can be specified is evidence that the languages in the six groups of this Zone have received wide linguistic investigation.

The language list for Zone S now follows.

(10) Shona Group

(11) Kovekove (N. Shona, Chishona), four dialects:

Shangwe (Sharwe);

Korekore;

Tabara;

'Budya.

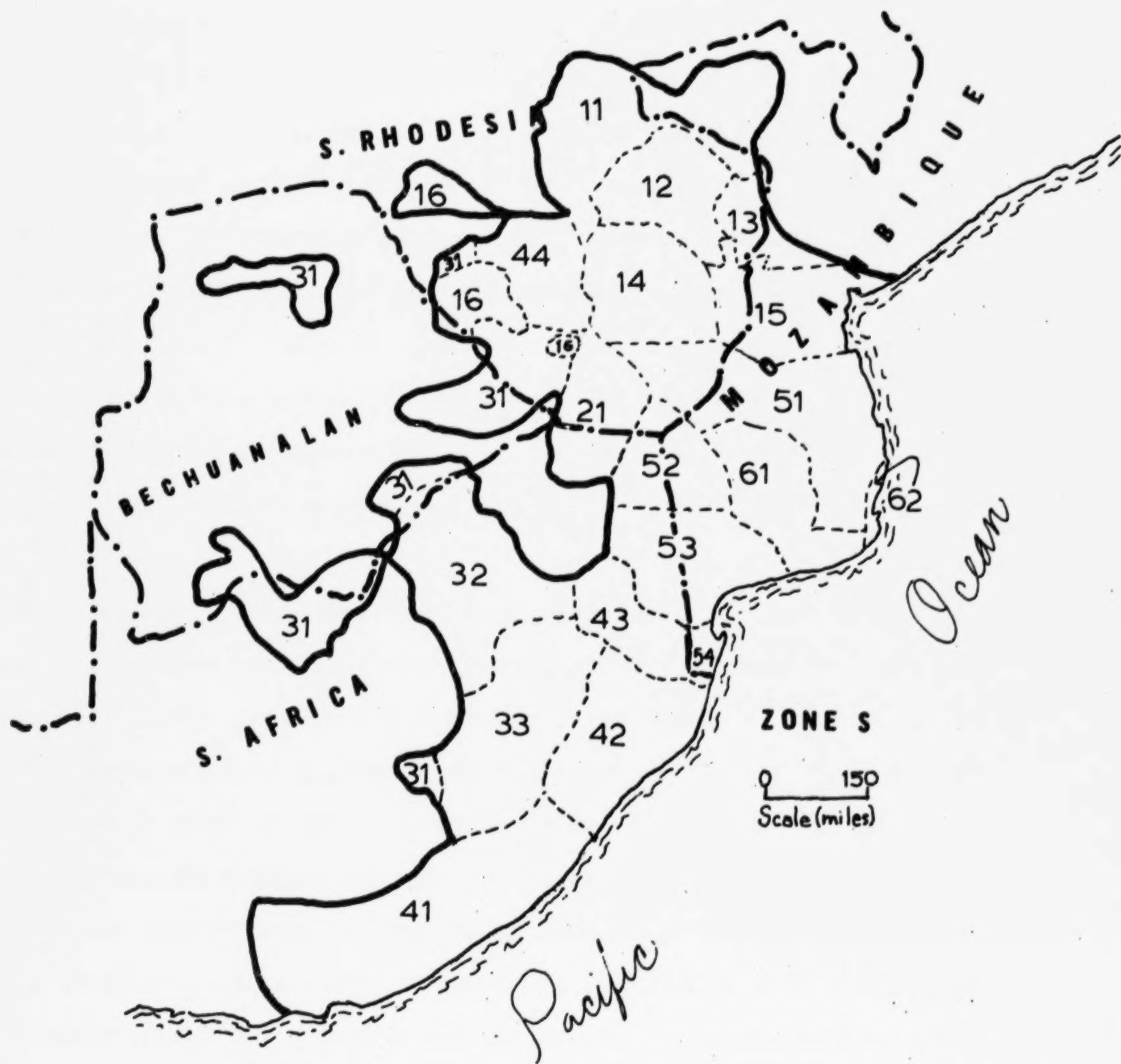
(12) Zezeru (Zezuru, C. Shona, Chiswina, Chishona).

(13) Manyika, two dialects.

Manyika;

Tebe (Teve).

- (14) Karanga (Karanga).
- (15) Ndaou (Sofala, S. E. Shona).
- (16) Kalanga (Kalanga, Kalana, W. Shona).
- (20) Venda Group
 - (21) Venda (Cevenda, Tshivenda), 150,000 speakers.
- (30) Sotho-Tswana Group
 - (31) Tswana (Setswana, Chwana, Chuana, Cuana, Coana, Tshwana), c. 852,000 speakers, four dialects:
 - Rolon(Rolong)
 - Kgatla (Kxhatla)
 - Nwatu (Ngwato, Mangwato)
 - Kxhalaxadi (Kgalagadi, Khalahadi)
 - (32) Northern Sotho (Suthu, Pedi, Northern Suthu, Transvaal Sotho), 800,000 speakers (1946 census), two dialects:
 - Pedi, 500,000 speakers;
 - Lobedu (Lubedu, Lovedu).
 - (33) Southern Sotho (Sesotho, Suthu, Suto, Sesuto), c. 3,000,000 speakers.
- (40) Nguni Group
 - (41) Xhosa (Isixhosa, Xosa, Kaffer, Kaffir), 2,500,000+ speakers.
 - (42) Zulu-Ngoni, 2,500,000-3,000,000 speakers, two dialects:
 - Zulu (Isizulu, Zunda);
 - Ngoni (Nguni).
 - (43) Swati (Swazi, Isiswati, Tekela, Tekeza), 250,000 speakers.
 - (44) Ndebele (Isindebele, Tabele, Tebele), 158,100 speakers (1946).
- (50) Tswa-Ronga Group



BANTU FRONTIER LANGUAGES

Bryan (1956) regards the languages listed below to be Bantu—all sixty-nine of them. The speakers of these languages are scattered across Africa from the Cameroons to Kenya, and hence appear to be areally a sort of northern frontier in respect to the areas occupied by the hundreds of Bantu languages recognized by Guthrie, and grouped in Zones A to S. There are two rather understated suggestions that these remaining Bantu languages are not only areally marginal, but also so linguistically. First, Bryan uses the label 'sub-Bantu' for many of them. Secondly, Guthrie excludes them from his Zones A to S, presumably because they do not possess the linguistic features that he looks for in order to classify languages as entirely Bantu in their ancestry.

It is possible, nonetheless, to attempt some sort of unification of the short list of Bantu frontier languages, given below, and the long list of Bantu languages grouped under Zones A to S, given above. Before attempting this, however, we list the Bantu frontier languages and place them in groups (after Bryan). Then, as the list progresses, we relate these groups to Guthrie's Zones A to S. But this is perhaps too strongly stated; all that is attempted below is to subsume some of Bryan's Bantu frontier language groups under some of Guthrie's larger Bantu designations. In effect, Guthrie's groups and Bryan's groups overlap; we have already cited Guthrie's list above, and do not repeat from it when it overlaps with Bryan. Instead, Bryan's is excerpted insofar as it extends beyond Guthrie's. The unification of the two lists, as far as it goes, is possible because the overlap in group listing gives a hint as to group affiliation where Bryan extends beyond Guthrie.

(1) Bobea (Bobé, Bota, Wovea): 600 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) on Bota Island of the Pirate Group in Ambar Bay and in a village on the opposite coast (see Duala Group).

(2) Kole (Bakolle): 300 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) in small coastal settlements northwest of the Mboko (see Duala Group).

(3) Bodiman: 2,000 speakers in Cameroons on both banks of the Wcuri River south of Yabassi (see Duala Group).

(4) Cinga (Bundum, Kombe): 12,600 speakers in Cameroons on both banks of the Mbam River just above its confluence with the Sanaga River east of the town of Bafia (see Sanaga Group).

(5) Eki (Badjia, Mvang, Omvang): 3,000 speakers in Cameroons in Nanga Eboko Subdivision and possibly in Doumé Subdivision (see Yaunde-Fang Group).

Languages (1) to (5), above, may have Zone A affinities.

(6) Ngul, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Kasai River near its confluence with the Kamtsha River, and classed as a 'Single Unit of Bantu' by Guthrie (personal communication to Bryan, 1957).

This language, Ngul, does not appear to have any closer relations to any one of Guthrie's groups (Zones A to S) than to any other.

(7) Ngando-Kota (Bodzanga): 2,900 speakers in the Central African Republic on the right bank of the Lobaye River in Mbaïke District of Lobaye Region (see Ngando Group).

(8) Ndaanda.

(9) Lobala, together with Ndaanda, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in Bomboma Territory (see Pande Group).

(10) Mabaale, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in the Nouvelle Anvers area on the Congo River (see Ngala Group).

- (11) Boko (Iboko), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) at Nouvelle Anvers and Dundu on the right bank of the Congo River (see Ngala Group).
- (12) Ndoobo, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Ndoobo stream and on the Congo River north of the Boloki area (see Ngala Group).
- (13) Likila (Bangele, Balobo), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in four villages between the Ubangi and Congo Rivers (see Ngala Group).
- (14) Bolondo: 1,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Saw River south of Budjala (see Ngala Group).
- (15) Ndoolo: 5,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) in the Ndoolo marshes between Bokola and Tanda (see Ngala Group).
- (16) Kunda, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Ngiri and Saw Rivers (see Ngombe Group).
- (17) Doko, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in the Lisala-Busu Mandji-Mongala River area in Budjala territory (see Ngombe Group).
- (18) Tembo (Litembo), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Mongala River, on islands in the Congo River, and in widely scattered enclaves to the north (see Ngombe Group).
- (19) Doko of Ngiri, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in Bomboma Territory (see Ngombe Group).
- (20) Dianga, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Ngombe Group).
- (21) Kango (Likango, Rakamgo), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the lower Vele, the Api, the Bima, and the Bomokandi (see Ngombe Group).
- (22) Boloki of Ruli River, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Mongo-Nkundo Group).
- (23) Sakanyi (Sakani), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Mongo-Nkundo Group).

(24) Soko, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Mongo-Nkundo Group and So of Kele Group).

(25) Langa, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville), between the Tshuapa and Lualaba Rivers (see Tetela Group).

(26) Mbuli, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in Haute-Tshuapa (see Tetela Group).

(27) Jonga, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in Haute-Tshuapa (see Tetela Group).

The score of the languages numbered (7) to (27), inclusive, may have Zone C affinities.

(28) Mbala (Rumbala), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) on the Lweta River (see Luba Group).

(29) Lwalu: 21,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Luba Group).

(30) Luntu, spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) (see Luba Group).

(31) Mashasha: 13,000 speakers in Northern Rhodesia in southern Mankoya District, and additional speakers in the Mumbwa District near the Lunga River (see Nkoya Group).

(32) Lushange: 9,000 or more speakers in Northern Rhodesia on the Luena River in Mankoya District (see Nkoya Group).

Languages (28) to (32), inclusive, may have Zone L affinities. Those numbered (33) and (34), which now follow, may have Zone M affinities.

(33) Ndali: 51,000 speakers in Tanganyika west of the northern end of Lake Nyasa between the Kibila and Songwe Rivers (see Nyiha-Safwa Group).

(34) Aushi (Ushi, Usi, Uzhil): 29,000 speakers in Northern Rhodesia along the Luapula River and extending into Congo (Leopoldville) (see Bemba Group).

Languages numbered (35), (36), (37), (38), (39), and (40), which now follow, are as yet unclassified in respect to their affiliation with other Bantu languages. In effect, they appear to have no closer relations to any one Bantu group than to any other.

(35) Kari (Likarili, Kare): 4,000 to 5,000 speakers of which 1,000 are in Congo (Leopoldville) in Ango Territory and 3,000 to 4,000 in the Central African Republic north of Zemio between the Chinko and Ouara Rivers, and along the Mbomu River as far as Karre.

(36) Ngbee (Lingbe, Mangbele), spoken by a few people in Congo (Leopoldville) in Niangara Territory.

(37) Homa, spoken by a few people in Sudan around Mopoi and Tambura.

(38) Bodo, spoken by a few people in Sudan near Dem Zubeir, and possibly in the Central African Republic in the area of the Warra and Kerre Rivers.

(39) Boguru, spoken by a few old men (Babukur) in Sudan west of Yambio, by a few expatriates (Babogoro) in northeastern Congo (Leopoldville), and by seventy-five Bagbele in two villages north of Garamba National Park.

(40) Ngbinda (Bungbinda), spoken by a few speakers in Sudan and Congo (Leopoldville) in a few scattered spots in the Vele region and at Kotele village 20 km. from Buta.

Languages numbered (35) to (40), above, constitute Bryan's Kari Group (not in Guthrie).

(41) Liko (Liliko): 26,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) in Wamba Territory near Babondei; also a group of speakers (Mabiti) in Paulis Territory (see Bali Group).

(42) Mbuti (Kimbuti), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville), Babila Forest.

(43) Kaiku (Ikaiku), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in the Beni area

on the Beni-Mambassa road.

(44) Bila: 5,700 speakers in Beni Territory; others in Epulu Territory.

(45) Bugombe (Ebugombe): 12,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) between Lubena and the Beni-Bela Road, and in an enclave on the Semliki River between Beni and Mutwanga.

(46) Western Bira (Babira): 4,000 speakers or more in Ponthierville Territory of Congo (Leopoldville); other in Stanleyville Territory.

(47) Plains Bira (Kibira): 31,700 speakers on Shari Plain in Congo (Leopoldville).

(48) Ruwenzori Bira (Kibira), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) and in Uganda on the slopes of Ruwenzori.

The languages of the Bira Group, (42) to (48) above, are considered as sub-Bantu by Bryan. Of her Bira Group only the following are included in Guthrie: Komo (Kuumu), Peri (Bili), Lengola, and Mituku.

(49) Yira (Nande) dialects, spoken by some 1,700 people in Beni Territory, Congo (Leopoldville).

(50) Nande dialects are Mate, Kumbule, and Tangi. Mate: 19,000 speakers in Congo (Leopoldville) in Lubero Territory. Kumbule: 3,300 speakers in Maisisi. Tangi: spoken in Lubero Territory.

(51) Swaga dialects: 121,000 speakers of Swaga (Ekiswaga) proper in Lubero Territory of Congo (Leopoldville), plus speakers of the Kira dialect.

(52) Shu dialects: 65,000 speakers of Shu (Ekishu) proper, widely spread in Beni Territory, Congo (Leopoldville), not to mention speakers (Bashu women) of the Shukaali (Ekishukaali) dialect.

(53) Lega-Hambo (Ekilega-Ekihambo): no location given, but distinguished from the Lega Group, according to Bryan.

(54) Songoora (Ekisongoora): nearly 1,300 in Beni Territory, Congo (Leopoldville) on the shores of Lake Edward at the mouth of the Semliki River.

(55) Sanza (Ekisanza): 15,000 speakers scattered around Beni in several small groups in Congo (Leopoldville) and Uganda.

(56) Kobi (Rukobi), spoken in a small enclave in Kigezi District, Congo (Leopoldville), and grouped with Yira (also of Nande group) by Tucker and Bryan.

For (49) to (56), see Bryan's Nande Group. Guthrie places the remainder of this group in his Konjo Group.

(57) Buḏu: 83,000 speakers in Wamba Territory, Congo (Leopoldville).

(58) Mbo (Imbo, Kimbo): 2,000 speakers in Epulu Territory, Congo (Leopoldville).

(59) Ndaaka (Indaaka): 4,750 speakers in Epulu Territory, Congo (Leopoldville), from the Avakubi area north to the Ituri River.

(60) Beeke (Ibeeke), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in two villages, one on the Avakubi-Irumu Road and the other south of the Ituri River.

Languages numbered (41) to (60), above, may have affinity to Zone D. Those numbered (57) to (60) include all of Bryan's Nyali Group except Nyali (not listed), which Guthrie apparently includes in his Huku of his Bira-Huku group. Languages numbered (61) to (66) below, are in Bryan's Inter-Lacustrine Group.

(61) Hima (Huma), spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in a few villages in the Bagota chiefdom of Sota in Bunia Territory, around Badia of Bunia Territory, in the extreme south of Divgu Territory, and in the extreme north of Ruandarondi (a figure of 3,745 speakers represents two of the dialects, but no figures are available for the other two).

(62) Bwisi-Talinga (Mawisi): 6,000 speakers in Beni Territory, Congo (Leopoldville), and an unknown number of speakers in Amba country on the north-western foothills of Ruwenzori in Uganda.

(63) Sese (Olusese), spoken on the Sese archipelago in Lake Victoria.

(64) Kenyi (Lukenyi), spoken near the eastern end of Lake Kyoga in Uganda.

(65) Syan (Lusyan): 10,000 speakers in Uganda north of Mbale in the Legenya area of northeastern Bugishu.

(66) Singa (Lusinga), spoken on Rusinga Island in the Kavirondo Gulf.

(67) Ngurimi (Ikingurimi, Ngoreme, Ngruimi, Nguruimi): 11,800 speakers in Tanganyika on the south bank of the Mara River (see Gusii Group).

(68) Chuka: 18,500 speakers in Kenya (possibly stands between the Kikuyu and Taita Groups).

Languages (61) to (68), inclusive, may have Zone E affinities. Finally, the language numbered (69), below, may have Zone S affinities.

(69) Birwa, spoken in Bechuanaland and northwestern Transvaal east of Serowe centered on Bobonong (Shona Group or Sotho-Tswana Group).

POSTULATED BANTU

The fifty-one languages listed below are classified by various authorities in various ways with various restrictions on their full or rightful relationship with ancestral Bantu. The half hundred languages in this list are spoken in a compact area in Cameroons and adjacent Nigeria by about two million speakers altogether. The numerically outstanding languages are Tiv and Tikar with 700,000 and 200,000 speakers, respectively; and Keaka, Bamun, Bangangte and Bandjou-Baham with 50,000 to 100,000 speakers each.

The label 'Bantoid' has been applied to numbers (1) through (44) below by the authors of the Handbook of African Languages. Their criteria for this classification are not repeated in this introduction. Most of these languages have noun-class affix systems analogous to Bantu, but neither their phonetic shapes nor their semantic functions are readily comparable to Bantu.

Numbers (44) to (51) below have been called Bantoid by Greenberg. Concerning these, Welmers comments that Tiv might well be included in Bantu proper, but that Ndoro, at least, is considerably more distantly related.

- (1) Manta (Takamanda)
- (2) Assumbo
- (3) Nde
- (4) Menka
- (5) Amasi

The above five languages are spoken by less than 10,000 speakers each.

They may be dialects of Keaka (10).

(6) Jarawa (Jar) is spoken by probably under 50,000 people in several small speech islands in Nigeria and Cameroons. Apparently legitimate names for dialects as opposed to areas are:

Mboa;

Nagumi;

Wurkum (Bakulũ).

The precise relationship of the scattered sections of Jarawa is unknown.

Westermann and Bryan list the following additional dialects:

Bankalawa;

Badawa;

Bombarawa;

Jaku;

Plains Jarawa;

Hills Jarawa.

(7) Bandem is spoken by 7,700 people on the upper Wouri River, northeast of Yabassi in Cameroons. The vocabulary 'has unmistakable Bantu traits'.

(8) Nyang-Kinkwa is spoken by 15,000 to 20,000 people:

Nyang (Banyangi) is spoken by 10,000 to 15,000 people from the right bank of the Cross River northwest of Manfe, to the Bambuto mountains on the eastern boundary of Cameroons. Its closer relationships are nearly unknown. Its vocabulary has an undoubtedly extensive Bantu content. Some correspond-

ences to Guthrie's starred forms of common Bantu are regular though far more are not. Because of many points of 'un-Bantu behavior' in the grammar, it has been considered Bantoid. A subdialect of Nyang is Kitwii (Manyemen, N. Balong), spoken by not more than 5,000 people on the northeast slopes of the Rumki Mountains.

Kinkwa (Mangen Konkwa) is spoken by an unknown number of people in the Mamge Division.

(9) Tikar (Ndop, Tikari, Tikuli, Tikave, Tika, Tiker, Tumu) is spoken by about 200,000 people in the former British Cameroons (170,000) and in adjacent areas of former French Cameroons (12,500).

The dialect or language investigated by the Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland is spoken to the north of the Mvi River to an area east of the central area of the Nigeria-Cameroon borderland, and along the course of the upper Mbam and Kim Rivers.

The Ethnographic Survey of Africa indicated that "the extent of the similarities between Tikar languages is not very clear; nor is the distinction between languages and dialects. So marked is the linguistic heterogeneity that villages only a few miles away from one another often speak languages which are not mutually intelligible..." The language studied by the Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderline of the International African Institute was said to be divided into two dialects by the Mbum River. These are not readily mutually intelligible. It seems that the label Tikar, in its broader tribal sense, stands for a number of related, but not mutually intelligible languages which

have not been adequately investigated. As to its more distant affinities, the Handbook of African Languages remarks that its non-Bantu vocabulary seems to have no 'striking affinity' with neighboring languages. The vocabulary has a definite Bantu content without showing regular correspondences.

(10) Keaka (Keaqa, Kejaka) is spoken by about 92,000 people in the southwest corner of the Mambe District of Cameroons and extending over the Cross and Akpa Rivers well into Nigeria. There are four dialects:

Edjagam with 7,500;

Ekoi of Cameroons (Ekwe) with 2,000;

Obang with 2,500;

Ekoi of Nigeria with perhaps as many as 80,000.

The relationships of these four dialects are problematic. The dialects are mutually intelligible in Cameroons, but probably widely divergent from the Ekwe of Nigeria. There are vocabulary items in common with Bantu, but no regular correspondences. The noun-class system is unrelated to Bantu in shape and function.

The Nsaw-Kom Language Group (variously called Bafumbum-Banshaw, Nkom, We) consists of (11) through (23), listed below.

These languages, first thought to be unrelated, were found to have characteristics in common by the survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland, though, these characteristics are 'more easy to savour than to define'. The area of mutual intelligibility for any language of this group is limited to a few villages, with Pidgin being the 'vehicular language'.

(11) Nkom (Bikom, Kom, Ikom Bamekon, Ekom, Etaṅ) is spoken by 15,000 to 17,000 in Bamenda Province around Laakom. The Ethnographic Survey of Africa cites Bruens as listing 'Mme', 'We', and 'Ye' (below) as closely related languages. Yum (Wum, Aghem), Ndabe, Mekaf, and Lamnso are mentioned as being closely allied to Nkom. Bruens is also cited as giving the following dialects:

Tsam;

Kidzem.

(12) Ngamambo (Mitaa) is spoken by 4,500 people in southwestern Bamenda Division in the villages of Bafawchu, Bafawkom and Babo II; in the Mogamò tribal area; and in the village of Babossa near Bali Town.

(13) Fungom (Western Bafumbum) is spoken by about 15,000 people in Bamenda Province in the Fungom tribal area (South of the Katsina River), at Fungom, Jua, Esu, Kumfulu, We, Ketehumbuk, Zongunvon, Melang, Iwa, and Tukisson; also at Wum in the Aghem tribal area. A version of this language is used further east as a lingua franca. There are two possible dialectal variants:

Oso;

Wum (Yum, Aghem), less than 7,000 people in the Aghem tribal area.

(14) Lamso (Banso, Nso, Nsaw, Bansaw, Lamnso) is spoken by considerably less than 22,000 people in eastern Bamenda Division in the Kumbo area. There are some points of similarity with Tiv, and a great deal of dialectal diversity.

There are also a number of languages of the Bamenda Division, about which less is known, and only two of which number more than 10,000, Nsungli and Ndop.

(15) Biba-Bifang.

(16) Bum.

(17) Misaje, with about 4,000 speakers.

(18) Nsungli (Nsugni, Llimbumi, Ndzungle, Zungle) is spoken by about 15,000 people 60 miles northeast of Bamenda. Tucker and Bryan cite Jeffries as indicating three 'distinct linguistic groups':

Tang (Tan);

Wiya (Ndu);

War (Wa, Mbat).

(19) Nfumte, possibly a dialect of Nsungli.

(20) Mbem.

(21) Mbaw.

(22) Mme.

It must be emphasized that (19) to (22) above are place and tribal names for languages without a conventional designation, and that different languages may be included under a single name and vice versa.

The Widekum Language Group contains the eight languages listed below, each spoken by less than 10,000 speakers unless otherwise indicated.

(23) Widekum proper (Mbudikem, Burrikem, Tiwirkum) is spoken at and around Widekum between Bamenda and Mamfe.

(24) Mogamo (Mogamaw, Megamaw, Moghamo) is spoken in Bamenda Province of Cameroons.

(25) Menemo (Bameta, Meta, Muta) is spoken northwest of the Bali.

(26) Ngonu (Angono, Ngunu, Ngwo, Ngwa) is spoken in the western part of Bamenda Province.

(27) Ngemba (Magimba, Megimba, Ngomba) is spoken by about 15,000 people north and south of the Menemo and Bali, with differing dialects in these two areas.

Bafut is said to be a dialect of Ngemba.

(28) Ngi (Mingi, Ngie, Agie, Ugie) is spoken in southwestern Bamenda Province.

(29) Melamba is said to be located between the Ngimba and Bunshaw.

(30) Age (Esimbi) is spoken by less than 5,000 people in the western part of Bamenda Province.

Bamileke is a name applied to both the Nkom Language Group and Westermann and Bryan's Bamileke Language Group. The speakers of the Bamileke Group inhabit the whole of the western mountainous area of former French Cameroons, in addition to two enclaves: one in the extreme southeast and one to the west of the Southern Dschang Division extending over into the former British Cameroons. The Bamileke Language Group, also known as Grassfield (Pidgin: Grafi or Grafil), is classified by Greenberg as Bantu, but Westermann and Bryan believe there is insufficient linguistic evidence for this classification as virtually nothing is known about this language.

However, in all these languages there are noun classes and there also appears to be concord. The languages of this group are to some extent interrelated, though the degree of relationship cannot be established with any accuracy. Westermann and Bryan, however, have made a tentative grouping of dialects which present no serious difficulties of intercomprehension. The languages (or dialect clusters) of the Bamileke Group are those numbered (31) through (44) below.

(31) Dschang-Bangwa with Astang and Nwe (Dschangtalk, Bangwa) is located in the Dschang sub-division and in the extreme east of Mamfe Division of the former British Cameroons, with at least 41,000 speakers.

(32) Babajou (Tsaso, Etsaso) is spoken in the Babadjou chiefdom and in nearby villages on the main road from Dschang to Bamenda. The population of the five or six villages where this language is spoken is not known.

(33) Bagam (Tsogap) is spoken in the Bagam chiefdom and in neighboring localities in the northeast corner of the Southern Dschang Division by the populations (unknown) of about twelve villages.

(34) Bamougoun-Bamenjou (Pamunguup, Mundju) is spoken in the Bamougoum chiefdom in the Bafoussam sub-division by at least 25,000 speakers. Other languages (dialects?) of this group, which are spoken in the south Bafoussam Division, but not listed elsewhere, are as follows:

Bameka with 6,000 speakers;

Bansoa;

Balessing.

(35) Bafoussam (Fulsap, Fusam) is spoken in and around the Bafoussam

sub-division, with over 7,000 speakers.

(36) Bandjoun-Baham (Mandjū, Mahūm) is spoken in the southern Bafoussam sub-division at the chiefdom and sub-chiefdom of Bandjoun. There is mutual intelligibility between this dialect and that of the inhabitants of Banderkop, Batie, and Bapa of which no further information is available. There are an estimated 60,000 to 70,000 speakers of Bandjoun-Bahem.

(37) Babouartou (Papuantu) is spoken at Babouantou just within the northeast limits of Bafang South Division, by an unknown population, in two villages. It is closely related to Bafang (below) and also to languages to the northwest and northeast extending into South Divisions Dschang and Bafoussam.

(38) Bafang (Fa (?), Kun, Bakou, Bakuu, Fe[?]fe[?], Fefe) is used to refer to the language of the whole Bafang area which has many dialects spoken in the villages surrounding Bafang, totalling approximately 67,500 speakers.

(39) Bangou-Batchingou-Bamana is spoken in the south of South Division Bafoussam and west of South Division Bangangte, with a population estimated at 10,000 to 15,000.

(40) Bangoua-Batoufam is spoken in four villages outside the South Division border of Bafoussam in the extreme southeast, with a total population estimated to be 10,000 to 15,000.

(41) Bangangte (Ndzubuga) is spoken in the Bangangte chiefdom; but as a trade language, it is understood throughout the whole South Division. There is also a group of Bangangte speakers who have emigrated to South

Division's Bafoussam or Bafong subdivision and to larger centers in general. There are well over 66,700 speakers of this language.

(42) Batongtou is spoken in the extreme south of the Bamileke area with no information regarding number of speakers reported.

The following two languages are not sufficiently known to establish definite relationships. They are included in the Bamileke Language Group but are considered to be 'merely on the fringe of Bamileke'.

(43) Bamun (Shupaman, Bamun) is spoken by 75,000 people throughout the administrative area of Fumban in the triangle created by the Noun and Mbam Rivers. It is used as a lingua franca in the southern part of the Ndop tribal area in Cameroons. It is included in the Bamileke Language Group by Westermann and Bryan.

(44) Ngaaka (Mungaaka, Ba'ni, Bali of Bali Town) is spoken by an unknown number of speakers (probably under 10,000) in the township of Bali.

The above languages, (1) to (44), are evidently considered Bantu by Greenberg. Specifically, he mentions Bafut, Ndop, Bamun-Bali, Penyin, Banyang, Jarawa, Ekoi, Nde, Mbudikum, Nso, Mbe, Manyan, and Bamyim (Ndiki). He also states that 'absence of mention in the list of Benue-Congo languages of a border area is tacit evidence of my opinion that it is Bantu'. Greenberg also promises (1963) a 'full discussion of the evidence regarding the northwest boundary of Bantu' in a subsequent publication. Regarding the languages in their Bantoid Group, A. Jaquot and I. Richardson concluded that 'in this area caution is a greater asset than an active intuition.'

(45) Tiv (Mitshi, Munshi, Munchi) is probably spoken by 600,000 people (though estimates run as high as 800,000) in Benue Province, Tiv Division of Nigeria; in Wakari, Bafia, and Nassarawa Divisions in Nigeria. Welmers cites R. C. Abraham as listing Tiv as Bantu 'following his own definition of what is Bantu.'

(46) Bitare (Zuande, Yukutave) is spoken by probably under 50,000 people in former British Cameroons in the southern part of Gashaka District.

(47) Batu is spoken by under 10,000 people in Cameroons.

(48) Vute (Wute, Bute, Babude) is spoken by about 16,000 people north of the Sanaga River from Bafia to beyond Tibati; and also in two small enclaves in the south to the east and west of Nanga Eboko. Guthrie and Bryan list Vute as non-Bantu, and also as not being Bantoid. The following are divergent dialects:

Suga (Ssuga, Jemjem, Njemjem);

Galim.

Mambila is listed by Greenberg as a language, but by Westermann and Bryan as an Isolated Language Group containing the following two Dialect Clusters:

(49) Mambila proper (Mambere, Mambilla, Nor, Bamembila, Omavirve, Katoba, Lven, Torbi, Takbo, Tongbo, Lagubi) is spoken by about 15,800 speakers in Adamawa Province, Gashaka, and Nambila Districts on the Mambila Plateau. There is a northern and a southern dialect.

(50) Bungnu (Kamkam, Kakaba, Mvanip) is spoken by 800 people in

the same area as Mambila.

(51) Ndoro is spoken by 1,200 people in the Gashaka District, Benue Province, Wukari Division of Cameroons. Westermann and Bryan cite Meek as assigning Ndoro to a 'Nki' Group (see Boki, Cross-River Branch). Welmers (1963) states that his meager information on this language points to a more distant relationship than inclusion with Bantu in the Bantoid Branch.

Numbers (44) to (51) above are those listed by Greenberg as members of his 'Bantoid Branch' of Benue-Congo (the only other member being Bantu).

Other languages, such as Banen, Bafia, and Balom (Fa') have in the past been referred to as 'Semi-Bantu', 'neo-Bantu', etc., but seem clearly to be Bantu languages and are listed as such under Guthrie's Bantu (above).

PLATEAU BRANCH COORDINATE WITH BANTU IN BENUE CONGO

Some forty or fifty little-known languages are placed in the Plateau Branch. These languages, spoken by less than a million speakers altogether, are located in the northern Provinces of Nigeria: Niger, Ilorin, Kabba, Zaria, Benue, Kano, Bauchi, Plateau, and others. Only one language of this branch, Kamuku-Basa, is spoken by more than 100,000 people. Some few-languages—as Kambari, Dakari and Birom—have more than 50,000 speakers.

The best attested subrelations among these languages are those given in Westermann and Bryan's 'Language Groups'. Larger groupings have been attempted, of which the earliest was by Talbot (Nigerian Peoples, 1927), and the most recent by Greenberg (1963). The paucity of descriptive material permits only preliminary estimates, and the various sources (Talbot, Meek, Thomas, Human Relations Area File, Westermann and Bryan) are not always in accord as to which languages should be grouped together.

The first group is Westermann and Bryan's Kambari Language Group which probably includes the Kamuku-Basa Dialect Cluster. The six languages of this group are spoken primarily in Niger Province, with some speakers in Ilorin, Benue, Kabba, and Sokoto Provinces, and total nearly 175,000 speakers. Greenberg refers to this group as Plateau 1((a)).

(1) Kambari (Kamberi, Kambali, Kamberchi, Kamberawa, Kamberri, Kambali, Cumbri) is spoken by 67,000 people over a wide area from Kontagora Emirate, Niger Province into Busa Emirate, Ilorin Province, northern Nigeria. In addition to Kambari proper the Human Relations Area File lists the following mutually intelligible dialects:

Achifawa (Atshefa);

Kukawa.

(2) Dukawa (Hune, Duka) is spoken by 20,000 people. The main body of Dukawa is located in the western and northern part of Rijau District, and the Kontagora District in Niger Province.

(3) Dakakari (Chilila, Dakarawa, Dakarkari, Dakkakarri) is spoken by about 65,000 people, principally distributed throughout the Districts of the Turu Federation, Kontagora Division, Niger Province. It is spoken by Bangawa, Fakawa, Kelawa, and Lilawa (Leina) sub-tribes.

(4) Reshe (Bareshe, Tshureshe, Gungawa, Yaurawa, Yauri, Yawuri) is probably spoken by under 10,000 people, though in 1931 they numbered as high as 20,000, who live on a few islands on the middle Niger River in Sokoto Province, Yauri Emirate, and in Agwara District of Bussa Emirate, Ilorin Province. This language is spoken by the Reshe, and their neighbors, the Bakarawa, Larawa (Laro, Larauwa) and Lapawa (Lupawa).

(5) Gurmana is cited by Greenberg as a probable member of this group. It is known only by a vocabulary.

(6) Kamuku-Basa has 130,000 to 162,000 speakers in Niger, Kabba, Zaria and Benue Provinces. Despite the divergent character of the Basa-Komo dialect, all the dialects listed below are probably mutually intelligible.

Kamuku (Bassa-Kaduna, Kenfi, Finda, Mafinda) is spoken by 17,000 to 25,000 speakers in Niger Province, Kuta Division, Tegna and Allawa Districts, and in Zaria Province, Birnin Gwari District. Several subdialects are noted in two main tribal sections in Makangara and Tegna:

Ngwoi (Nkwoi, Ngwe, Ingwo, Ingwe) is spoken by 829 people in Niger Province, Kuta Division, in a few villages in Tegna and Kwongorna Districts;

Ura is spoken in Kuta Division, Kusheiki District, and has two slightly varying

subdialects (northern and southern);

Bushi (Bauchi, Kushi) is spoken by 3,000 people scattered through the Kuta Division of Niger Province in a series of mutually intelligible dialects which are said to merge with Pongo;

Pongo (Pongu, Arringeu), is spoken by 3,000 people in Kuta Division of Niger Province, mainly in Tgina District but also possibly in a section of the Baushi District;

Basa (Basawa) is spoken by 48,000 to 70,000 people scattered along the borders of Yauri District, Sokoto Province, through Niger and Kabba Provinces, and in the Nassarawa Division of Benue Province. There are two Basa sub-dialects neither of which has any connection with the Basawa of Ningi.

Basa Proper is spoken by 48,000 people in the Yauri District of Sokoto Province; in Niger and Kabba Provinces;

Basakomo (Basa-Komo) is spoken by 10,000 to 12,500 people who migrated south of the Benue River away from the Basa proper, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, to their present location in former Igala territory in the Nassarawa District of Benue Province.

The second Plateau group (Greenberg's 1 (b)) consists of about 8 to 18 languages spoken by less than 100,000 people; the number of languages depending upon the language or dialect status of certain members listed in the Jerawa Group, e.g., Amap, Buji, Rebina. Some of the languages of this group are listed independently by Greenberg, though he does not mention the vexing term Jerawa (see below). The languages of this group were divided into three dialect clusters by Westermann and Bryan: Chawai (with Kurama, Piti, Janji and Chawai proper), Gure-Kahugu, and Jerawa. We simply list the languages consecutively, but in an order which favors other investigators' grouping of Kurama, Piti and Janji as closer to Gure-Kahugu than to Chawai. The Ethnographic

Survey of Africa indicates that 'independent investigation ... tends to support Van Bulck, who links Kurama with Gure and Kahugu (and Batawa), and places Chawai under a separate sub-head; Meek ... points out that important features of Chawai contrast strongly with those defining the group of languages of which he seems to regard Kurama as the type.'

(1) Kurama (Akurmi, Bukurmi, Azumu), numbers 11,292 speakers according to Westermann and Bryan and 25,000 according to the Human Relations Area File. The Kurama form three enclaves, the most important of which lies well below the High Plateau around Garu (Garun Kurama), southeast of Leretown, across the northern-most expansion of Plateau Province in Jere District, and beyond the borders of Lame District, Bauchi Emirate. A second large enclave is located mainly in the Lere district of Plateau Province, separated from the first by a belt of Hausa-Fulani settlements. The third enclave is located among the Kauru Hill tribes.

(2) Janji (Jenji, Anafejazi, Anajanzi) is spoken by about 360 people in the village of Inchasi (or simply 'Janji') in Amo District, Jos Division, Plateau Province, and also a few in a village in Zaria Province.

(3) Piti (Pitti, Bisi, Abisi), is spoken by 1,589 people in a small community in Zaria Province.

(4) Anaguta is listed by Greenberg as well as the Ethnographic Survey of Africa as a member of this group. No details are available.

(5) Gure-Kahugu is spoken by 4,000 to 6,000 speakers in two hill villages of the western Lere District of Plateau Province.

Gure (Igbiri) is spoken by 3,000 to 5,000 speakers in the hill village of Gure (Guri) in Western Lere District, Zaria Province. Included with Gure is a small group, Dungi (Dwingi), with only 300 to 350 speakers.

Kahugu (Kafugu, Kagu, Anirago) is spoken by 1,301 people in another hill village of western Lere District of Plateau Province within 2 miles of Gure. According to the Ethnographic Survey of Africa it is 'Virtually indistinguishable from Igbiri [Gure].'

(6) Butawa-Ningawa-Kudawa is spoken in the Ningi area:

Butawa (Ba-Mbutu, Ba-Buche, Mbutawa, Mbotuwa), spoken by 9,218 people, who have recently, beginning as soon as the late 19th century, migrated from their hills to the nearby Sumaila District, Kano Emirate;

Ningawa with 3,700 speakers;

Kudawa with 2,000-4,000 speakers.

Ethnographic Survey of Africa indicates that these are 'dialects of a language obviously closely related lexically to that of the Kurama, and of the people of Gure, Kahugu, and Sheni villages, in Zaria Province.'

(7) Chawai (Atsama, Chawa, Chawi, Atsama) is spoken by 8,584 people in Zaria Emirate, north-eastern Zangon Katab District on the Bauchi Plateau.

Numbers (8) to (18) below are members of the Jerawa Language Group.

(8) Amap (Ama, Amawa, Amo) is spoken by 3,547 people reportedly settled in the plains of Zaria in a small group among the Kurama and a few in Bauchi Province, especially in the Bambaro hamlet of Zulu, Lame District. But the bulk of this group is located in Amo District, Jos Division, Plateau Province.

(9) Buji (Ano, Buze, Buje, Bujawa), 2,256, in Buji District, Jos Division, Plateau Province;

(10) Chara (Chera, Tera Terea, Teria, Terria, Nfa, Fachara, Fakara, Pakara), 735, in Buji District, Jos Division, Plateau Province;

(11) Rebina (Rebinawa, Gurum, Narabuna, Gurrin), 4,106, in Buji District, Jos Division, Plateau Province; and in Lame District, Bauchi Province;

(12) Jerawa Proper (Anazele, Jere), 4,520, Jere District, Jos Division, Plateau Province;

(13) Chokobo (Azura, Chokobawa), 424, Jere District, Jos Division, Plateau Province;

(14) Gussum (Gusum, Ibau, Anibau, Gusawa), 996, Jere District, Jos Division, Plateau Province;

(15) Gezewa (Geji), 1,305 in Toro and Zangur Districts, Bauchi Province;

(16) Guzawa, 1,360, in Lame District, Bauchi Province;

(17) Taurawa, 810, in Leme District, Bauchi Province;

(18) Sangawa, 1,704, in Lame District, Bauchi Province.

Greenberg does not list a Jerawa language or group, but does give, as Plateau 1 (b), a number of languages of the Jerawa group. Welmers summarizes the situation: 'there is considerable confusion in the use of this term Jerawa; it may include several distinct languages, but no one is sure what they are.' The Jerawa are, however, to be clearly distinguished from the Gera (Jera, Jerawa), Jara (Jarawa), and Jarawa. Westermann and Bryan indicate that some or all of them speak dialects which may be related to Chawai (above), or to Katab (below).

The third group of the Plateau Branch (Greenberg's Plateau 2) consists primarily of Westermann and Bryan's Katab Language group, but also includes Afo, Afusare, Kajure, Kadara, and Kuturmi. There is a total of 200,000 speakers primarily located in Zaria Province, but also in Plateau, Bauchi, Niger and Benue Provinces, Nigeria. Birom, grouped with Aten in his Plateau 3 by Greenberg, is appended to this group.

The Katab Language Group, originally suggested by Meek, includes: Ataka, Ikulu, Jaba, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, Kamantan, Moroa. These

languages are spoken in southeastern Zaria Province and adjacent areas of Benue and Plateau Provinces by close to 125,000 speakers. In Meek's judgement, Ataka, Kagoro, Katab, and Moroa speak the same language. All of this group is included in a Katab Dialect Cluster by Westermann and Bryan, except for Jaba which is given an independent language status by them, as is Irigwe and Aten (Ganawuri) in the larger Katab Language Group. Welmers notes that Kachichere, Morwa, Ataka, Kagoro may be dialects, but 'perhaps' are distinct languages; but that Kaje, Kamatan Kagoma, and Ikulu, although possibly dialects, are 'more likely' distinct languages. HRAF corroborates this grouping of Aten with Katab, indicating that they 'speak a Katab dialect though they are physically separated from the Katab group.' We list Aten as a dialect of the Katab language.

- (1) Katab proper is spoken by 20,000 people in the Katab District, Zaria Province, and has the following probable dialects:
 - Kachichere (Aticherak, Daroro), spoken by 700 people in the southeast of the seven village areas of Tangon;
 - Morwa (Moroa, Asolio, Aholio, Asulio, Osholio), spoken by 5,726 people in southeastern Zaria Province on the borders of Plateau Province, Moroa Independent District;
 - Ataka (Attaka), spoken by 5,000 people in the eastern half of Kagoro Rock and the lower-lying areas south and east in Moroa District;
 - Kagoro (Agwot, Agolok) is spoken by 10,566 people located in the Kagoro Independent District of Zaria Province and in Jema'a District, Jama'a Emirate, Plateau Division, in territory just south of Kagoro District. According to Meek, Kafauchau (Kabbau-chau), an 'offshoot' of the Kogoro, is spoken by 971 people located in the immediate vicinity of Kafauchautown.

Aten (Ganawuri, Jal, Etien, Ganawarri) is spoken by 4,100 people in the extreme southwest of the Birom tribal area of the Plateau Province.

(2) Kaje (Baju, Ajio, Kache, Kajji) is spoken by 24,507 people found in the extreme southwestern corner of the Birom tribal area; also about 1,204 speakers live in Kachia District; and 925 are located in Jema'a District.

(3) Kamantan (Angan, Zamangan) is spoken by 6,977 people in Zangon Katab District, Zaria Province in two locations: Zangon (3,634), Padan Kamautau (3,343).

(4) Kagoma is spoken by 6,126 people found in the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Division, Plateau Province. The Ethnographic Survey of Africa indicates the sparsity of data and summarizes that 'Kagoma is impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab ...' and that 'it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that the Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba ...'.

(5) Ikulu (Ankulu, Ikolu) is spoken by 5,594 people located exclusively in Zangon Katab District toward the north, also to the south and east of the District among the Katab, Chawai, and others. Little is known about this group.

(6) Jaba (Ham, Hum, Ada, Doma) is spoken by 27,047 people in the Jaba Independent District of Zaria Province southwest of the Kaje tribal area around Kwei (16,364); a second major concentration is in the Kachia District, adjacent to Jaba District, southwest of Kachia Town (10,683).

(7) Irigwe (Aregwe, Aregwa, Irrigwe, Rigwe) is spoken by 13,493 people chiefly in two village areas of the Birom tribal area, Kwon and Nyango. It is said to have linguistic similarities to Jaba and Aten. Birom is the common

second language.

The other Plateau 2 languages seem to have somewhat less intimate connections with Katab (except perhaps for Kagoma).

(8) Afo (Afao, Afu) is spoken by about 7,634 people, and is given by both Greenberg and Westermann as Benue-Congo, but by Human Relations Area Files to actually be a Kwa language close to Idoma.

(9) Afusare (Fizere, Hill Jarawa, Jarawan Dutse, Jarawan Kasa) is spoken by 30,000 people in Bauchi Province. Afusare is said to be closely allied to Anaguta. There is a composite community of Anaguta and Afusare in the Plateau Province about which few details are available.

(10) Kadara (Adara) is spoken by 17,777 people located in the Kajuru District, Zaria Emirate (8,256); a small section in Riban, unconfirmed; Kachia District, Zaria Emirate (7,978); Kadara District, Niger Province (145); Agaie Emirate, Niger Province (110); Bida Emirate, Niger Province (67). Linguistically Kadara would appear to mediate between Katab and Kurama (Ethnographic Survey of Africa).

(11) Kajuru (Ajure) is spoken by 5,561 people in Kajuru District, Zaria Emirate. The Ajure are reported by HRAF to differ appreciably in language from the Kadara.

(12) Kuturmi (Ada) is spoken by 1,926 people in Kachia District, Zaria Emirate. The name Ada men, is cognate with Adara, perhaps with Adjure (both also meaning men). Little is known about this group.

(13) Koro (Migili) is spoken by 35,000 people of Lafia Emirate and Benue Province. There is a linguistic distinction between 'Gbari-speaking' Koro of Abiya and Keffi Emirates, 'Gwandara-speaking' Koro of the same general area, and 'Koro-speaking' Koro, represented by Koro of the Gwari Federation of

Minna Division, Niger Province, and those of Lafia Emirate. The vocabularies of the last two are obviously related to some neighboring languages including for example Agatu (Idoma of Kwa) and even Amap. The various Koro enclaves are located in what is in effect a continuous strip of territory curving north-westwards from Lafia Emirate in the southeast across Nasarawa Division of Benue Province and Abuja Division of Niger Province.

(14) Birom (Worom, Shosho, Akuut, Berom, Burum, Biroom, Burumawa) is spoken by some 75,000 people, occupying the greater part of the Birom Tribal Area of Joos Division, Plateau Province, in about eleven predominately Birom villages. Birom has close connections with Plateau 2. Van Bulck places Birom, Piti, Amap and Chawai in a single group. Davis has Birom as close to Aten, Kaje, and Kagoro lexicostatistically. The linguistic association of Aten and Birom may be the result of the language situation: Birom is the dominant language of the area and has economic interrelations with Aten. Almost all the speakers of Aten speak Birom as a second language. Hans Wolff ('Noun Classes and Concord in Birom', 1963) gives its closest affinities with Afusare (Fizere), and states that Birom is somewhat less closely related to the languages of the Katab language group.

A number of languages simply listed as 'class languages' by Westermann and Bryan are divided into four groups by Greenberg, i.e. Plateau 4 through 7, and total nearly 150,000 speakers. These languages are listed as (1) through (13) below.

(1) Ayu is spoken by about 3,000 people, presumably in Nungu and Wampa Districts of Zaria Province.

(2) Kaninkom (Tum, Kaninkwum), is spoken by 2,291 people in the Tum Village, across the Provincial boundary from the Katab, in the Jema'a Division

of Nassarawa Province.

(3) Mada (Nunku, Yidda) is spoken by about 23,500 people in the Nungu and Wampa Districts, Southern Division, Plateau Province; also in Bauchi Province.

(4) Ninzam is spoken by 4,500 people north of the Egon and Rindri (see below).

(5) Rukuba is spoken on the Zaria Province-Jos Division boundary by an unknown number of speakers.

(6) Eggon (Egon, Hill Mada, 'Megon'), is spoken by about 42,000 people in the Southern Division of Plateau Province. There are two dialects:

Matatarwa;

Mat Engala.

(7) Nungu (Rindri, Lindri) is spoken by about 8,500 speakers in Wamba District, Southern Division, Plateau Province.

(8) Yeskwa (Jesko, Yankpa, Yasqua, Yesko). The population of the Yeskwa of Keffi Emirate is given as about 6,500 plus 608 in Jema'a Emirate.

(9) Pyem (Paiem, Pein, Fem, Fyeum) is spoken by 3,000 to 5,000 people in the Gindiri, Langai, Chemso, Pengiji villages of the Gindiri District, Pankshin Division, Plateau Province; also they are said to inhabit the border regions of the Birom Tribal Area, Jos Division, but there are no population figures.

(10) Kaleri

(11) Pai

No information is available on either (10) or (11) above.

(12) Yergam (Apa, Appa Yergum) is spoken by nearly 30,000 people in the Shendam Division of Plateau Province. Boritsü (Difu, Afteng) may be the same as or a section of this group, mentioned by some sources as a dialect.

(13) Basherawa (Borrom, Bogh, Burmawa, Burrum, Burumawa) has over 20,000 speakers neighboring the Birom.

CROSS-RIVER BRANCH COORDINATE WITH BANTU IN BENUE CONGO

There are almost a score of Cross-River Branch languages located in the Calabar, Owerri and Ogoja Provinces of Cameroons, and in adjacent areas of Nigeria. The total number of speakers approximates one and a half million of whom one million speak Efik-Ibibio. The languages are listed below under three successive Cross-River groups.

Cross-River group One consists of at least four languages spoken by 150,000 speakers in Mamfe Division of Cameroons, and in an area south of the Tiv in Nigeria.

(1) Boki (Nki, Okii, Dama, Dsikim) is spoken in Nigeria (south of the Tiv in Ogoja Province), and also in Cameroons, Mamfe Division. There is some question as to whether Gayi and Yakore, listed as separate languages, below, are in fact separate languages. 'Boki' is used loosely to name tribes by these names (the Boki dialect cluster), in addition to still other tribal groups: Bete, Ndir, Ukwese, Utange, and Yon. The population for the entire Boki 'Dialect Cluster' is 86,000, but no figure is given for the speakers of Boki proper. There are 'about 15 dialects' of Boki, including

Basua;

Bendege (Bindinga);

Busua.

Welmers indicates that Boki, Yakoro, and Gayi may be separate languages, and that Bete probably is.

(2) Bete (Mbete).

(3) Gayi (Alegi, Uge) is spoken in Nigeria and Cameroons by some 50,000 speakers (Welmers). It may be a dialect of Boki according to Welmers, and

according to Westermann and Bryan.

(4) Yakoro (Dama Kura) is spoken in Nigeria and Cameroons, and may be a dialect of Baki (Westermann and Bryan).

Cross-River group Two consists of six languages with well over a million speakers (with Efik-Ibibio making up nine-tenths of the total) in Calabar Province of Nigeria, and Owerri Province of Cameroons.

(1) Efik-Ibibio is spoken in Nigeria, south-east of the Igbo, mainly in Calabar Province, but also in parts of Owerri Province of Cameroons; the number of speakers is estimated to be over 1,000,000 (Westermann and Bryan).

Dialectal divisions correspond to the following main subdivisions:

Ibibio, in Calabar Province, and Aba Division of Owerri Province, with 80,000 speakers (Europeans use Ibibio to refer to the whole group);

Anang (Western), in Calabar Province and Aba Division of Owerri Province;

Enyong (Northern), in Calabar Province, and Bende Division of Owerri Province;

Eket, in Eket Division, Calabar Province;

Andone-Ibeno (Delta), in Calabar Province, said to be mutually unintelligible with the other dialects of this group by the Human Relations Area Files;

Efik (Riverain), in Calabar Province and Kumba and Victoria Divisions of Cameroons, with 25,000 speakers, occupying the strategic coastal area, and therefore most well-known.

In addition to the above dialects there are two which are strongly influenced by Igbo:

Ito, in a small section near Arochuku;

Itumbuzo, an outlying section near Bende.

(2) Ogoni (Okuni, Kane) is spoken in Calabar Province, Opoko Division, and Owerri Province, Ahoada Division by 76,300 speakers. Westermann and Bryan

cite Talbot as reporting several dialects, which differ considerably from each other, although no names are given.

(3) Andoni is spoken in Calabar Province south of the Ogoni by fewer than 50,000 speakers (Welmers).

The last two languages listed, Ogoni and Andoni, show some resemblance to Efik-Ibibio but the relationship is uncertain, according to Westermann and Bryan.

(4) Ododop (Erorup) is spoken in Cameroons by probably under 10,000 speakers. The term Ododop is used for a small and geographically displaced tribe including the Korop and Akoiyang as dialects; however, we follow Greenberg who lists Korop and Akoiyang as separate languages.

(5) Korop is spoken in Cameroons by fewer than 10,000 speakers.

(6) Akoiyang is spoken in Cameroons by a subtribe of the Ododop.

Cross-River group Three is spoken by fewer than 100,000 people in Ogoja Province of Cameroons and adjacent areas, and contains about half a dozen languages.

(1) Asiga is reported as a language by Greenberg. Available information (HRAF) lists the Asiga as a tribe neighboring the Yako.

(2) Okpoto-Mteze is spoken by people called Orri which refers to the Effium, Okpoto-Mteze and the Ukele. Greenberg lists both Okpoto-Mteze and Ukele as separate languages. Westermann and Bryan give as related dialects or languages of an Orri Language Group the following:

(3) Orri, in Ogoja Province, 8,600 speakers;

(4) Iyala, in Ogoja Province (not related to Orri, according to R. G. Armstrong): 22,500 speakers;

(5) Ukele, in Ogoja Province: 20,300 speakers whose languages is possibly

connected with a so-called 'Mekaf' language.

(6) Yako (Luko, Lika, Yaka, Yakurr) is spoken by 20,000 people in the extreme south of Ogoja Province, Obubra Division, centering in Umore (Ugep). Murdock (HRAF) lists Akumakuna and Ekuri as alternate names for Yako, while Greenberg lists them as separate languages.

(7) Abine is listed by Greenberg as a separate language. Information available indicates that the term refers to a tribe neighboring the Yako. No linguistic information is reported.

(8) Olulomo is a language listed by Greenberg; HRAF mentions it in connection with Ekoi, which is classified as 'Bantoid'.

JUKUNOID BRANCH COORDINATE WITH BANTU IN BENUE CONGO

There are at least five Jukunoid languages spoken by more than 50,000 speakers in Benue and Adamawa Provinces of Nigeria, the Bamenda Province of Cameroons, and the borderland between Nigeria and Cameroons. Jukun alone is spoken by two-thirds of the total number of speakers of the Jukunoid Branch; and Jukun is widely used as a lingua franca in Cameroons, and the Benue and Adamawa Provinces of Nigeria. Greenberg lists eight language names in this group, two of which represent dialects of other languages (Boritsü, a dialect of the Yergam language of the Plateau Branch; Nyidu, a dialect of Kentu), and a third, Tigong, which is a tribal name sometimes applied to Mbembe.

(1) *Eregba (Regba) is possibly extinct. It was located southwest of the Yergum of the Plateau Branch. Although Eregba is listed by Greenberg as Jukunoid, the Ethnographic Survey of Africa indicates that available material (1853) vocabulary shows its closest affinities to be (or to have been) with Yergam.

(2) Jukun (Juko Junkun, Jinkum, Jukü, Jukon, Kororofawa, Kurcrafa, Kurarapa, Kwararafa, Urapang, Gbagbang, Baibai, Appa, Apa, Akpa, Ke(wike), Ndama) is spoken by 35,000 to 37,000 people in Benue and Adamawa Provinces. The dialects are:

Wakari (Wapã);

Takum;

Konu (Jiba), spoken by about 2,000 people;

Gwana;

Pindiga;

Wase Tofa;

Jibu (Jibawa, Dschuba, Jubu), spoken by about 5,000 people;

Donga.

(3) Kentu (Kyato, Kyeto, Etkyë) is spoken by 6,330 people in the Donga District, Wakou Division of Benue Province. The two dialects of Kentu are Kentu proper;

Nyidu (Nidu, Nyivu).

(4) Mbembe (Izare, Nsare, Akonto, Akonto, not to be confused with the Mbembe of Ogoja Province) is spoken in what was formerly the British Cameroons, Bamenda Province, Mbembe District. There are said to be divergent dialects, but no names are cited. Tigon (Tigong, Tigum, Tugong, Tugun, Tukum) is given as an alternate name for Mbembe, as well as for the Ashaku (Atsuku, Nfumte, Kaka, Kaka-Banjo), Misaje (Metcho), and Nama. According to the Human Relations Area Files, Ashaku and Nama are mutually intelligible and together number about 2,516. Mbembe speakers number about 10,500.

(5) Zumper (Kutev, Mbavike, Zomper, Zumperi, Djompra, Djumperi) is spoken by 10,000 to 15,000 people on the northern Nigerian and Cameroons borderland.

KORDOFANIAN

1.7.0. Kordofan is a place name on the map of Sudan, southwest of Khartoum where the White Nile and the Blue Nile flow together. In the Nuba hills of Kordofan there are a number of languages which seemed a decade ago to be related to each other but not related to the neighboring Eastern Sudanic languages (Chari-Nile).

Evidence of the relationship of the Kordofanian languages among themselves is supported by the similar shapes of prefixes for nouns of different classes. In the following list, prefix pairs for over a dozen noun classes are cited; the first prefix in each pair marks singular, the second plural for a noun of a given class numbered 1 to 13.

Noun class:

1. f/y (Tagoi); P- or b-/y- (Eliri);
2. t-/ŋ- (Tagoi); t-/n- (Eliri), etc.;
3. k-/n- (Kawama, Otoro, etc.); g-/ŋ- (Eliri); etc.;
4. k-/ø- (Eliri, Tima), etc.;
5. kw-, k-/l-d- (Kawama); g^w-/l-;
6. ø-/k- (Eliri); ø-/gi- (Tutum), etc.;
7. d-/d- (Otoro); d-/r- (Kanderma), etc.;
8. t-/ny- (Koalib); c/ny (Tagoi, etc.);
9. (usually plural only; this class includes 'only liquids and abstracts') ŋ- (Koalib, Otoro, Tagoi, Talodi, etc.);
10. ø-/y- (agreements w/y, Koalib); w-/y- (Tagoi);
11. l-/w- (Heiban, Laro); ye-, y-/a- (Tagoi); dj-, tj-, t-/m (Eliri); etc.;
12. ŋ-/ny- (Koalib, Otoro, etc.); ŋ-/n- (Masakin);

13. o-/ø (agreements o/k,g, Kiro); t-/k- (Lafolo, Tumtum, etc.)

Let us say that Kordofanian is a language family. Then the names cited in parentheses after the prefix pairs above are sometimes names of languages and sometimes names of branches of the family. For example, Tutum is the name of one language branch, Koalib is the name of another language branch in the Kordofanian family; Tagoi is the name of one language (in the Telagi branch) and Eliri is the name of another language (in the Talodi branch).

If, instead of being a language family, Kordofanian turns out to represent a phylum, then the 'branches' just mentioned would have to be regarded as separate language families, remotely related to each other in the Kordofanian phylum which in turn is even more remotely related to all the various languages and phyla in the vast Niger-Kordofanian macro-phylum. This latter alternative is the perspective adopted most recently by Greenberg (1963). This may be said to represent the external relationship of Kordofanian.

For the internal relationships among Kordofanian languages, language branches, or language families, there are also two alternative views to account for upwards of thirty languages spoken by more than 200,000 speakers altogether. The average for each language would, accordingly, be only six or seven thousand speakers for each language—far too few to arouse much interest in a continent where more accessible languages are often spoken by hundreds of thousands and sometimes by millions of speakers. In consequence, Kordofanian languages have been virtually neglected by investigators. The alternative views on their internal relationships, though different, are not to be regarded as seriously competitive but merely as diverse first approximations.

Tucker and Bryan (1956), as Stevens before them, recognize the following Kordofanian 'language groups':

Katala

Koalib-Tagoi

Kadugli-Krongo.

Greenberg concludes, on the basis of 'a fair measure' of shared vocabulary items and 'agreement' in morphology generally (e.g. the prefix pairs for different classes of nouns, cited above, and also apparent cognates for marking 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons) that there are five Kordofanian subgroups:

Koalib, comprising at least eight languages;

Tegali, comprising at least four languages;

Talodi, comprising seven or eight languages;

Tumtum, comprising eight or nine languages;

Katla and Tima.

KOALIB

1.7.1. The Koalib (Koalib-Moro) branch of Kordofanian includes several languages whose speakers are located in the particular Nuba Hills of Sudan which range 'from the neighborhood of Delami in the north to the Moro Hills north-west of Talodi in the south, with some outlying hills.' From 80,000 to 120,000 people speak eight of these languages, according to Tucker and Bryan, who base estimates on 'post-1945' figures. Greenberg lists ten names as languages of this group, but two of the names (compare (5) and (8) below) are designated as geographical locations by Tucker and Bryan. None of these languages are considered to be of major importance either because of population, or geographic extent.

The following languages are listed by Greenberg for the Koalib branch:

(1) Koalib with a population of 24,000, is spoken in the neighborhood of Delami, scattered over the plain around Arbi, around the Koalib range, at

and around Nyukwur, also at Umm Heitan and Hadra. It has the following dialects:

Nju-qwuraŋ with approximately 8,000 speakers in the neighborhood of Delami, including Umm Berumbeita and Turum;

Ni-rere with approximately 4,200 speakers in villages scattered over the plain around Abri;

Nju-nduna with 8,976 speakers located south and southwest of Abri and all around the Koalib range;

Ni-nyukwur with 3,800 (plus) speakers at and around Nyukwur, also at Umm Heitan and Hadra;

(2) Heiban (Dhe-baŋ) with a population of 2,800, is spoken in the neighborhood of Heiban, Abul, and nearby hills, and at Heiban town on the Abri-Talodi road.

(3) Laro (Yillaro) has 3,600 speakers located on the hill of Laro (Alleira) and a few small hills nearby. It has the following dialects: Laro, the standard dialect, which is spoken everywhere except in the provenience of the following subsidiary dialect:

Igwormany, a subsidiary dialect of Laro, which is spoken in Lormany village and other neighboring villages.

(4) Otoro (Dhi-toro, Kawama) with 10,400 speakers, is spoken in the Otoro Hills south of Heiban and west of the Heiban-Talodi road. Murdock, (H.R.A.F.) states that Otoro, along with Abol, Heiban and Laro, speak closely related and mutually intelligible languages. According to Bryan and Tucker, the following dialects are interintelligible and closely related to Heiban: Bi-jama and Bu-gwujur, spoken by the Lijama (Ligyama) and Lugwujur (Lukujur) in two different localities; Bo-kwara, spoken by Lökara;

Bu-gurila, spoken by Lugurila;

Bö-römbe, spoken by the Lö-römbe;

Ba-garro and Bö-görindi, spoken by the Ligarro and Lögörindi.

(5) Kawama (Kawarma), according to Tucker and Bryan, is a name used by earlier writers for the Otoro hills south of Heiban and west of the Heiban-Talodi road in which the Otoro language is spoken. Greenberg lists it as a language name but notes that it appears to be the same as Stevenson's Otoro.

(6) Shiwai (Shuway, Ludumör) with 2,800 speakers, is spoken in villages in the Shiwai Hills, northwest of Otoro near the Heiban-Kadugli road.

(7) Tira (Thiro, Tiro) with 10,120 speakers, is spoken in hill villages extending from near Otoro to the neighborhood of Talodi, including Tira el Akhdar (Tira Dagig), Tira Mandi, Kinderma (Kanderma), and Tira Lumun (Luman). According to the H.R.A.F. material "The Tira occupy [also other] hills in Kordofan: Gabri, Kalkadda, Kattei, Mummu, Ndorndo (Um Dordo), and Ngadhado."

(8) Kanderma (Kinderma), according to Bryan and Tucker, is the name of a hill village in which Tira (Thiro) (compare (7) above) is spoken; however, Greenberg lists it as a separate language name.

(9) Moro (Dhi-morön, Oi-morön) with 9,000 speakers, is spoken in the Moro Hills. H.R.A.F. identifies them thus: "The Moro are a "Nuba" tribe in Kordofan. They are Negroid." There are four main dialect divisions. There is no single name to cover each of these: each dialect is spoken in several localities, with corresponding local names. The main localities are:

Umm Durein, and neighborhood with 460 speakers;

Abu Leila and Lebu with 4,100 speakers;

Umm Gabralla and neighborhood with 9,000 speakers;

Acheron and neighborhood with 1,216 speakers.

(10) Fungor with 2,400 speakers, is spoken on several small isolated hills in the extreme eastern part of the Nuba Hills between Talodi and the White Nile. According to Murdock in H.R.A.F.: "The Nyaro are the south-easternmost of the Nuba tribes, occupying the hills of Fungur, Kao (Kau), Nyaro, and Werni (Werna). The Kao and Nyaro are practically identical in language and culture. The Fungur are quite similar to them, and speak a dialect which is mutually intelligible with theirs. The Werni speak a language not mutually intelligible with the other three. The Nyaro are to a considerable extent isolated from other Nuba tribes in consequence of Arab infiltration." It has the following dialects:

Fungor, with 550 speakers;

Kau and Nyaro, with 1,050 speakers;

Werni, with 900 speakers, is said by Murdock in the H.R.A.F. material that this is a separate language from Fungor, Kau, and Nyaro; however, Tucker and Bryan list it as a dialect of Fungor.

TEGALI

1.7.2. The Tegali (Tegali-Tagol), a branch of Kordofanian with 29,000 speakers distributed in the hills 'between the Rashud-Rashad and Rashad-Umm Ruwaba roads, with a few outlying hills west of Rashad (including Tagoi and Tarjok) and scattered hills south of Rashad.' The few or several languages in this branch either have noun classes or a plural formed by suffixes. The following names are given by Bryan and Tucker; Greenberg includes only the first four in this list.

(1) Tegali has about 16,000 speakers located on the Tegali range.

(2) Rashad has about 5,000 speakers in the Rashad hills in the southern part of the Tegali range, also in Rashad town. Tucker and Bryan list this

as almost identical to Tegalí, "perhaps a mere variation of one language"; however, Greenberg lists it as a separate language.

(3) Tagoi, with 2,100 speakers, is spoken at Tagoi, west of Rashad, at Turjok (Turjuk) and possibly on Jebels Tongam and Fayt. It has, in addition to this main dialect, the following subsidiary dialect:

Moreb, with 552 speakers, is spoken north of Tumale, at Tagogen to the south, and Wadelka to the northwest. There are perhaps similar dialects.

(4) Tumale, with 1,100 speakers, is spoken on Tumale Hill and possibly also in Tuling. Tucker and Bryan list this as a dialect in the Tagoi cluster, although Greenberg lists it as a separate language.

(5) Tingal (Kajakja) has about 2,100 speakers. Welmers suggests this as a dialect of Tegalí; Tucker and Bryan report this as different from Tegalí and Rashad, but as definitely belonging to the Tegalí branch; Greenberg doesn't mention it.

(6) Tukum, with 2,000 speakers, is spoken at Tukum. Bryan and Tucker note that this dialect "undoubtedly belongs to the Tegalí ... group, [but] cannot at present be definitely assigned" to any particular language.

(7) Turum has 800 speakers. Tucker and Bryan note that Turum village is divided between Turum speakers and Ngugwurang, a dialect of Koalib, and that Turum definitely belongs to Tegalí branch but not enough is known of it to establish any closer subclassification for it.

TALODI BRANCH

1.7.3. The Talodi branch has approximately 16,700 speakers who inhabit the area around Talodi, the Eliri range, the Masakin Hills, and the Moro Hills. Greenberg lists seven names without stating relationships between them. Five of these names correspond to three languages (1, 2, and 5 below) and two dialects

(compare 4 and 6 below) of Tucker and Bryan's Talodi-Masakin group. The other two names given by Greenberg correspond with one language, (3), and one dialect of Tucker and Bryan. Two dialects not mentioned by Greenberg are listed below (7) under Tucker and Bryan's 'Moro Hills'.

(1) Talodi has 1,200 speakers, and is spoken in the town and on the hill of Talodi, including villages Tesomi and Tata.

(2) Eliri has 400 speakers and is spoken at the southern end of the Eliri range.

(3) Lafofa, with 2,180 speakers, is spoken in the central part of the Eliri range and on two hills to the south and east. The following dialects are listed by Tucker and Bryan:

Lafofa, with 2,000 speakers, is spoken in Lafofa village and nearby settlements in central Eliri, and on hills Umm Shatta and Takei;
Jebel Tekein, with 180 speakers.

(4) Lumun (Kuku-Lumun) is listed as a separate language by Greenberg, but a dialect of Moro Hills by Bryan and Tucker. It is spoken in a small settlement in the Moro Hills.

(5) Masakin has about 10,000 speakers and is spoken in the Masakin hills. Tucker and Bryan list the following dialects:

Masakin Gusar (Masakin Qusar)

Masakin Tuwal (Tiwal, Towal) Hills

Outlying hill-villages of ~~El~~ Akheimar (Aheima) and Daloka (Taloka).

(6) Tacho (Toicho) is listed as a separate language by Greenberg; however, Bryan and Tucker list it as a dialect of Moro Hills Dialect cluster. It is spoken in a small settlement of the Moro Hills.

(7) (Jebel) el Amira with 240 speakers is listed by Greenberg as a

separate language, but as a dialect of Lafofa by Westerman and Bryan.

(8) 'Moro Hills' with 3,800 speakers is spoken in the Moro Hills. The following dialects are listed by Tucker and Bryan:

Part of Acheron village, a settlement in the Moro Hills;

Torona, in a small settlement in Moro Hills.

The Koalib (Koalib-Moro), Tegali (Tegali-Togoi), and Talodi (Talodi-Masakin and Lafofa) branches of Greenberg's Kordofanian were previously classed as a single Koalib-Tagoi language group by Tucker and Bryan, which was set off as unrelated to the Katla and Kadugli-Krongo (i.e. Greenberg's Tumtum).

Tucker and Bryan characterize their single Koalib-Tagoi group as follows: "The outstanding feature is the system of paired classes in nouns distinguished by prefixes, with alliterative concord with other parts of speech. There is some correlation of noun classes with meaning."

TUMTUM

1.7.4. The Tumtum (Kadugli-Krongo) branch of Kordofanian includes eight languages listed by Greenberg, but a ninth language is added by Tucker and Bryan (3 below). These languages are spoken in Sudan 'on scattered hills in the south of the Nuba Hills area, from Tulishi in the west to Kurondi in the southwest.' In relative closeness of linguistic relationship, there are three subgroups into which the nine languages fall. Numbers (1)-(3) below fall into one group; numbers (4)-(7) below comprise a second group of languages or dialects said by Bryan and Tucker to be 'so closely interrelated as to be interintelligible'; numbers (8) and (9) form the third group. Languages of the Tumtum branch have 'noun classes, distinguished by prefixes.' Tumtum is counted as a branch of the Kordofanian family by Greenberg, but Tucker and Bryan list it as an isolated language family. According to Tucker and Bryan's

statistics, Tumtum branch or family has approximately 73,000 speakers; however, no one language is considered to be of any major importance.

(1) Tulishi, with 8,628 speakers, is spoken on Jebel Tulishi south of the Katla, on Jebel Kamdank north of Lagowa, south of Tulishi, at Dar el Kabira in the Daju Hills, among the Daju. It has the following dialects:
Tulishi, with 2,548 speakers on Jebel Tulishi south of Katla;
Kamdang, with 2,880 speakers on Jebel Kamdang, north of Lagowa, south of Tulishi;
Dar el Kabira, with 3,548 speakers at Dar el Kabira (el Kebira) in the Daju Hills among the Daju.

(2) Keiga, with 6,000 speakers, is spoken on many small hills north of Miri. It has the following dialects:
Keiga (Aigan) on the Keiga (Kaigang, Kaiga, Kayi) Hills at Keiga el Kheil, Kalda, Keiga Lubun (Luban), Keiga Tummero (with minor local variants);
Demik (Refik) is spoken at Keiga el Kheil, Kalda, Keiga Lubun (Luban), Keiga Tummero (with local variants).

(3) Kanga, with 6,340 speakers, is spoken on the southern fringe of the Miri Hills, west and southwest of Kadugli. These mutually intelligible dialects have been provisionally named after one of the principle hill villages (Kana). This language is not listed by Greenberg. It has the following dialects:

Chiroro and Kursi;

Part of Abu Sinun;

Kanga, Lima, and Kufa.

(4) Miri (Toma ma miri), with about 8,000 speakers, is spoken throughout the Miri Hills, except where 'Kanga' is spoken.

(5) Kadugli (Dhalla, Toma ma dalla), with 18,000-19,000 speakers, is

spoken in and around the town of Kadugli.

(6) Katcha (Dholubi, Toma ma dolubi), with 6,000 speakers, is spoken in hill villages a short distance south of Kadugli and southeast of the Miri Hills, Katcha being the geographical and administrative center.

(7) Tuama, with 5,200 speakers, is spoken on a small range of hills between the Katcha range and Miri. It has the following locations:

Krongo Abdullah;

Tuama;

Belanya.

(8) Krongo, with 11,600 speakers, is spoken in the Krongo Hills south of the Masakin range and west of Talodi. It has one outlying dialect listed which is spoken in a few villages to the northwest with 3,460 speakers.

(9) Tuntum, with 1,300 speakers, is spoken at Tuntum on Jebel Talodi, Talassa on the northern part of Eliri, and Kurondi (Karondi, Korindi) south of Eliri. Three dialects are specifically located at the following places:

Kurondi south of Eliri;

Talassa on the northern part of Eliri;

Tuntum on Jebel Talodi.

KATLA

1.7.5. The Katla (Akalak) branch of the Kordofanian language family is spoken in the Nuba Hills 35 to 45 miles southwest of Dilling. Population figures are given only for Katla: 8,700. Tima is a second language in this branch.

(1) Katla (Akalak), with 8,700 speakers, is spoken in the Katla Hills 35 miles southwest of Dilling, Sudan. Tucker and Bryan list dialects spoken at: Koldrong; Kirkpong and Karoka; Kiddu, Kateik and Bombori; Julud (Gulud).

(2) Tima (Lomuriki, Tamanik Lamuriki) is spoken in hill villages on and near Jebel Tima (Umarik), 10 miles southwest of Katla, in Western Kordofan District.

NILO-SAHARAN MACRO-PHYLUM

2.0. If the five separate language families that are remotely related were all that were included in Nilo-Saharan, they might be said collectively to constitute a phylum (rather than a macro-phylum). All five of the language families are made up of very few languages. Some are like Basque in Europe, which is a single language, and the only language in its own family — a language without sister languages. Thus, though dialectically differentiated, as indicated below (2.1), Songhai is a single, separate language, and the only language in its family. So also, Fur (2.4) is a single, separate language and the only language of its family. However, Songhai as well as Fur differ from the position of Basque in Europe because they have known remote relatives. They are ultimately related to each other, even though no closer sub-relationship between Songhai and Fur is found than between either and one of the three remaining Nilo-Saharan language families that include more than one language in each family. That is to say, Songhai and Fur, though not sister languages in one language family, are, nevertheless, related to each other as well as to languages in language families about to be mentioned.

The five languages of the Saharan family, as enumerated below (2.2), are sister languages which are more remotely related to other Nilo-Saharan languages, including Songhai and Fur, mentioned above. So also, the four languages of the Maban family (2.3). So also, the seven languages of the Koman family (2.5).

The five separate language families introduced by these remarks pose

the simple side of the Nilo-Saharan problem. The complex side of the Nilo-Saharan problem is discussed below (2.6) in connection with the problem of including a phylum like Chari Nile (which itself has language families as its constituents) in the Nilo-Saharan perspective which, so far, might be regarded as a phylum consisting of five language families. But since Chari Nile is not an additional sixth language family, but instead a phylum with enormous complexities of its own, the over-all perspective calls for a (the) Nilo-Saharan Macro-Phylum.

THE SONGHAI LANGUAGE FAMILY

2.1. The single language of this family is spoken by some 400,000 people whose habitat ranges from Djenné in the west to the eastern borders of Nigeria (in the valley of the middle Niger River) and from the Saharan oases in the north into Dahomey in the southeast. Songhai is spoken in the following countries: Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Nigeria, and Dahomey. The three major Songhai dialects are:

Songhai

Zarma (Dyerma)

Dendi.

THE SAHARAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

2.2. Speakers of five languages of this family live mainly in Chad, but are found also in adjoining parts of Nigeria, Niger, Libya, and Sudan. Kanuri is the numerically outstanding language of the family, with a million or more speakers. All the rest of the languages put together are spoken by

fewer than a quarter of a million speakers.

(1) Kanuri is spoken by about a million speakers, although some estimates run as high as two million. Kanuri is spoken in Nigeria (mainly in Bornu Province, but also in Sokoto, Kano, Zaria, and Bauchi Provinces) as well as in Niger. Tribal names associated with Kanuri, which may represent dialects, include Kagama, Fadawu, Ngumatiwu, Lare (Lerewa), Ngazar, Koyam (Kwayam), Mabar (Mober, Mobeur), Manga, Karda, Badawai, Kanembu (not to be confused with the Kanembu language of Chad), Jetko (Dietko), Kuburi, Dogara (Dagara), and Tsugurti. To this list Murdock adds Magumi, Ngussan, and Beriberi.

(2) Kanembu is spoken in Chad, in the Kanem region east of Lake Chad, by 25,000 to 30,000 speakers. Murdock supplies the following tribal names: Bade(Bedde), Baribu, Diabu, Kaburi, Kadjidi, Kankena, Kanku (Konku), Maguemi, Tsugurti, Chiroa, and Galabu. Kaburi and Tsugurti probably belong with Kanuri (above).

(3) Tubu (Tebu, Tibbu), also known as Daza (Dazaga), is spoken over a vast area, mainly in Chad; in a lesser area, Tubu is spread in adjacent parts of Niger. There are some 200,000 speakers, divided into many tribes: Tubu, Gaida, Tebia, Murdia, Sherafada (Churafada), Norea, Kreda (Karda), Kashirda (Kecherda), Ankatza (Nakaza), Norea (Nawarma), Bulgeda, Dongosa (Donza, Dosa), Gadiwa (Gadua, Qadawa), Yuruwa, Worabba (War-raba), Wannala (Wandalla), Alaliwa, Dogorda (Dugorda), Atemata, Joarda, Dirkawa, Taura, and Yelmana. Murdock adds Aburda, Bogarea, Fomalla,

Yoruma, Djoura, Kumosalla, Oreda, Worda, Dalea, Irie, Djagada, and Sangada (Koroa).

(4) Tuda (Teda) is spoken in the mountains of Tibesti in Chad, and some distance into Libya. The number of speakers counted for two out of five tribal groups is 16,000 (Murdock). The five tribal groups are Gunda, Brawia, Tomagera, Tua, and Chigaa.

(5) Zaghawa (Berri) is spoken in the Wadai region of Chad and in part of Dar Fur and southward in Sudan. There are about 60,000 speakers. A dialect of Zaohawa may be spoken by the Berti of Sudan, but most of these people have adopted Arabic. Bideyat (Baele, Anna, Awe, Terawia), possibly a dialect of Zaghawa, has about 3,000 speakers located mainly in northeastern Chad, but also in Dar Fur of Sudan.

THE MABAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

2.3. The four languages of this family are spoken in the Wadai area of Chad and Dar Fur Province of Sudan. The total number of speakers is over 170,000.

(1) Maba (Mabang, Bura Mabang) is spoken in Sudan mainly in Wadai, District Abéché; also in District Am Dam. Maka has 56,000 speakers and the dialects which are now enumerated; the last (possibly others) may be separate languages:

Abu Sharin

Kodoi (Kodoï)

Kafanga

Malanga

Mandala

Mandaba

Uled Dfemma (Aulad Dfema)

Kujnga

Kondongo

Kashmere

Abu Sharin

Runga (possibly a distinct language).

(2) Karanga (Kavanga) is spoken in Wadai, south of Abéché on the road to Am Dam. There are five dialects:

Karanga (Kurunga)

Moyo

Fala

Baxa

Konyare.

(3) Masalit (Kaana Masala) is spoken by 100,000 people in Sudan, specifically in Teredo in Wadai and Dar Masalit in Dar Fur, between the Tama in the north and the Mararit in the south; also in Nyala District, Dar Fur. Marba (Marfa) may possibly be a distinct language (W. E. Welmers) or a dialect of Masalit.

(4) Mimi (Andaṅ-Ti) is spoken in Sudan by 15,000 people. The language area is in Wadai, District Biltine, the southern part of District Abéché, and also in District Oum Hadjer. Greenberg also gives the (language) name

Mime for which we have no details.

THE FUR LANGUAGE FAMILY

2.4. Fur (Furawi, Konjara) is spoken almost entirely in Dar Fur of Sudan, extending slightly into Chad. There are 171,000 speakers.

THE KOMAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

2.5. The seven languages of this family are spoken in the Sudan-Ethiopia border area by an undetermined number of speakers (over 17,000).

(1) Gumuz is spoken mainly in Ethiopia, to the Gandua River in the north, and across the Blue Nile in the south. On the west, the Gumuz are bounded by the Berta, but in the east the boundary is undefined. The number of speakers is not known.

(2) Uduk is spoken in Upper Nile Province, Sudan, from Belila in the north, and southwards along the Blue Nile Province boundary to the Yabus River. There are about 5,000 speakers.

(3) Ganza is spoken by 1,000 people in a small area in eastern Sudan, possibly also in Ethiopia..

(4) Koma (Coma) is spoken in several areas along the Sudan-Ethiopian border by an estimated 3,000 speakers (which may be a figure for only one dialect). The dialects are:

Koma

Ciita

Madin (Aru).

(5) Gwama (Gwami) is spoken in the same area as Koma; in fact, the

Gwama speakers are entirely intermingled with the Koma, although the two languages are distinct. There are probably less than 2,000 Gwama speakers.

(6) 'Mao (northern Mao) is spoken along the left bank of the Dabus River near the Sudan-Ethiopia border by some 6,000 speakers. The southern Mao who live in Anfillo Forest in Ethiopia, speak a Cushitic language. Possible dialect names are Dokonu, Shurri (Shirri), and Phosko.

(7) Gule (included in this family by Greenberg but treated separately by Tucker and Bryan) is spoken by the inhabitants of Jebel Gule and neighboring hills San and Roro, north of the Tabi in Sudan. Gule is reportedly being replaced by Arabic. The number of Gule speakers in general is not known, much less the number of Gule-Arabic bilinguals or the number of Gule for whom the bilingualism has become replacive — in favor of Arabic.

2.6 Chari-Nile is a cover-term, but not a cover-term for an additional language family which would, if it were, make the sixth and final family included in Nilo-Saharan. Rather, Chari-Nile is a cover-term for a phylum which includes language families of its own. According to Greenberg's 1963 postulation, the old Macro-Sudanic, now named Chari-Nile (by Welmers), includes the following language families:

Central Sudanic

Berta

Kunama

Branches of, or language families of, Eastern Sudanic (including two Nilotic branches or language families).

There is clear sailing most of the way. It is obviously possible to list significantly languages within some language families of the Chari-Nile phylum after saying, as we say here, that under each of the following language families the individual languages show a closer subrelationship to each other than they do to other languages in other of the families listed here, to which they are nevertheless related (though more remotely):

Central Sudanic family

Berta family

Kunama family

There is even clear sailing part of the way as we enter the troubled waters of the Chari-Nile. Greenberg seems to view these troubled waters as though they were quite as calm as those in which the three language families

are found (just listed above); unhesitatingly, he identifies as a fourth language family (Eastern Sudanic) what we have hesitatingly identified as 'Branches of, or language families of, Eastern Sudanic (including two Nilotic branches or language families)'; and we will hereinafter allude to this — an as yet unresolved problem — as an 'unpenetrated reef', in the hope that our sailing metaphor will help clarify the nature of the problem which we leave, finally, as so far indeterminate. There is, as already mentioned, clear sailing part of the way in the direction of the unpenetrated reef. If we take Eastern Sudanic to be a language family, and distinguish those branches concerning which controversy does not rage from those which are controverted, it is possible to list significantly (in the sense identified above for 'significantly') the individual languages under most branches, namely:

Nubian branch

Beir-Didinga branch

Barea branch

Nyimang branch

Temein branch

Tama branch

Daju branch

Teuso branch

Western (traditional) Nilotic branch.

But as soon as we approach the last of the branches just enumerated, we come in sight of the unpenetrated reef. The problem that is left indeterminate

is then discussed below — after first listing individual languages under the few families of the Chari-Nile phylum, and after listing individual languages under the relatively uncontroverted 'Branches of, or language families of, Eastern Sudanic'; but we conclude our list with individual languages that are ascribed to only one of the two Nilotic branches — the traditional one.

CENTRAL SUDANIC FAMILY

The languages of this family are spoken over a wide area in Chad, in the Central African Republic, in the northeastern part of Congo (Leopoldville), and in the southwestern part of Sudan, as well as in some neighboring countries, as Uganda. The total number of languages comes to about thirty, with approximately one and a quarter million speakers all told. Sara and Lugbara each have over 200,000 speakers, followed by Lendu with 160,000, and Mangbetu with 100,000.

Tucker and Bryan divide the Central Sudanic languages into two 'Larger Units' each of which is divided into smaller groups. These groups are also reflected (with some slight modification) in Greenberg's classification.

Four languages are listed under the Bongo Group of the Central Sudanic family.

(1) Bongo is spoken in Sudan, in the Western District, south of Wau on the Bussere River, and in the Jur River District, near Tonj. The number of speakers in the Jur River District is about 2,400.

(2) Baka is spoken in Sudan, near Maridi and northwest of Yei, and in Congo (Leopoldville), mainly in the Game Reserve on the Aka River. The

total number of speakers is 2,600.

(3) Morokodo is spoken by over 4,600 speakers. There are five dialects, all spoken in Sudan:

Morokodo, over 3,100 speakers, north and west of Amadi;

Biti, 280 speakers, on the Amadi-Tali Road;

Wira, north of the Biti;

Madu, spoken among the Lakamadi (see Moru below);

Nyamusa, 1,200 speakers, north of the Wira, mainly on the right bank of the Yei River.

(4) Beli is spoken by over 9,900 speakers in Sudan. The six dialects of Beli are:

Lori, 1,000 speakers, on the Naam River west and southwest of Mvolo;

Modo, 1,700 speakers, northeast, south and east of Mvolo, and in Mvolo itself;

Gberi (Gbara, Muda), 600 speakers, northwest of Mvolo beyond the Sopi, just south of Toinya;

Wetu, almost extinct;

Beli (Beili), 5,000 speakers, north and east of Toinya;

Sopi (Supi), 1,600 speakers, northwest of Mvolo along the Naam River.

Three languages are listed under the Kresh Group of the Central Sudanic family.

(1) Yulu-Binga is spoken by over 2,800 speakers in Sudan, in the extreme west of Equatoria Province.

There are three Yulu-Binga dialects:

Yulu, spoken between Kaga and Said Bandas;

Binga (Biḡa), spoken in the same area as Yulu, also in Habbaniya District in Dar Fur;

Aja, spoken in the same area (uncertain affiliation).

(2) Kresh (Kreish, Kpala, Kpara) is spoken mainly in Sudan, Equatoria Province, by some 6,000 speakers, differentiated into five dialects:

Gbaya (-Ndogo), 1,800 speakers, on the Raga-Said Bandas Road;

Naka, 3,600 speakers, west of the Gbaya near Said Bandas;

Woro (Oro, Ori), 400 speakers, 20 miles east of Dem;

Zubeir on the Kuru River;

Dongo, about 100 speakers in the Bahr el Ghazal area, with others in Habbaniya and Nyala Districts of Dar Fur.

(3) Furu is spoken for the most part in northwestern Congo (Leopoldville), in Territoire Bosobolo, by about 5,000 speakers. It is being replaced by Ngbaka Gbaya. Furu may be a dialect of Kresh. Not listed by Greenberg.

The Kara Group includes only one language.

(1) Kara is spoken in Sudan, in the extreme east of Equatoria Province between Raga and Said Bandas. The number of speakers is not known.

The Sara Group includes two languages.

(1) Sara, with some 284,000 speakers, is spoken in the Central African Republic and Chad. Tucker and Bryan give five dialect clusters, but Greenberg indicates that they are all dialects of a single language. Here is a list of these: Majingai (Modjingaye), 27,000 speakers;

Sara Ngama, 12,600 speakers;

Sara Gulai, 7,000 speakers;

Nar (Peni);

Sara Mbai (Bai), 59,000 speakers;

Sara Gambai (Ngambai) 110,000 speakers;

Sara Murun;

Daba;

Sara Mbai of Doba (Mbai Gor?), 85,000 speakers;

Laka (Lak, Lag), 40,000 speakers;

Sara Kaba (Kabba) 11,500 speakers, many subdialects;

Kaba Dunjo, 17,000 speakers, many subdialects.

The following may also be Sara languages or dialects: Horo, Kusuvulu, Sara Hii and Butu.

(2) Vale is spoken by an undetermined number of speakers; 1,400 have been counted for one dialect. There are three Vale dialects:

Vale, 1,400 speakers;

Nduka;

Tele-Tane.

At least three languages are included in the Bagirmi Group of the Central Sudanic family.

(1) Bagirmi (Barma, Tar Bagrimma) is spoken in Chad in the Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat Regions by 31,000 speakers.

(2) Kuka is spoken by over 71,200 speakers. There are three dialects,

all located in Chad:

Kuka, 38,800 speakers in Dar Kouka, between Dagana and Lake Fitri;

Bilala (Bulala), 25,800 speakers in the Lake Fitri area;

Mudogo (Me-, Mi-, Mo-dogo), over 6,600 speakers east of Lake Fitri.

(3) Kenga (Kenge, Kenya) is spoken in the lower valley of the Bahr Bourda, Chad, by 20,000 to 25,000 speakers.

Disa in the Lake Iro area, Babalia on the left bank of the Chari River below Goulfei, Gula southwest of Dar Kara, and Gele near the Sudan border, are all spoken in Chad, and probably belong with the Bongo-Bagirmi languages. Very little is known about them.

The Moru-Ma'di Group includes seven languages:

(1) Moru is spoken in Lado Enclave, Sudan, by some 23,000 speakers.

There are seven Moru dialects:

Miza is spoken by about 8,100 speakers south and east of Amadi;

Kadiro (Kediru, Kederu) is spoken east of Amadi northeast of the Miza by about 6,000 speakers;

Lakama'di is spoken on the Tali Road north of the Kadiro by about 900 speakers;

Andri is spoken by some 2,700 speakers in the area south of the Miza;

Bali'ba is spoken in the area east of the Miza;

Agi is spoken northwest of the Andri on the road to Maridi by more than 1,500 speakers;

(Moru) wa'di is spoken north of Maridi by about 400 speakers.

(2) Avukaya (Avokaya, Abukeia) is spoken in Sudan and Congo (Leopold-

ville) by about 5,200 speakers. There are two dialects:

Ojila is spoken by about 2,400 speakers, mainly between the Naam and Olo Rivers and also further east;

Ajiga (Ojiga) is spoken north of Yei and also in the outskirts of Mundu country south of Maridi by 2,800 speakers.

There are also Avukaya speakers in Congo (Leopoldville), scattered in the basins of the Utua and Dungu Rivers.

(3) Logo is spoken in the northeastern part of Congo (Leopoldville) in an area between Aba, Faradje, and Watsa, and in the Yei District in Sudan. There are about 54,000 speakers in Territoire Faradje. The following groups are reported to speak Logo dialects:

Ogamaru, located between the Dungu and Obi (Nzoro) Rivers;

Tabulaga and Tabuloba, located on the Obi River;

Obileba, located south of the Obi River with 5,150 speakers;

Bari-Logo, scattered southwest of Faradje.

(4) Kaliko (Keliko) is spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) southeast of Aba, between the Logo and Lugbara; also in the southern part of the Yei District in Sudan. The total number of speakers is about 18,000.

(5) High Lugbara (Logbware, Lugware, Lugori, Lubari) is spoken by about 144,000 speakers, mainly in the West Nile District of Uganda, and also in the adjoining area of Congo (Leopoldville).

(6) Low Lugbara is spoken by about 78,000 speakers in Uganda.

Information on Lugbara dialects, of which there are apparently a

large number, is uncertain. Greenberg considers High and Low Lugbara to be one language.

(7) Ma'di is spoken mainly in Uganda in the Madi Sub-District and in the West Nile District; also in Opari District, Sudan. The number of speakers is over 70,000. There are six known dialects of Ma'di but some of them are known only by area:

Madi Sub-District dialect;

West Nile District dialect, more closely related to Lugbara than the other dialects;

Pandikeri, spoken in the northern part of the Madi area in Opari District;

Lokai, spoken in the southern part of the Madi area in Opari District;

Olu'bo, spoken in the Luluba Hills, Opari District;

'Burulo, spoken near Nimule.

Three languages are listed under the Mangbetu Group of the Central Sudanic family.

(1) Mangbetu is spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) by some 100,000 speaker. Murdock gives a figure of 500,000. Nine dialects are reported:

Mangbetu, spoken by about 5,500 speakers, north of the Meje (see below);

Abulu, spoken in Territoire Wamba by about 1,500 speakers;

Lombi (Lumbi), spoken in Territoire Bafwasende by over 8,000 speakers; also said to be spoken by pygmies living on the left bank of the Ituri River.

Popoi, spoken in Territoire Banalia around Ponga by 7,500 speakers;

Maele, spoken by 13,000 in Territoire Poko;

Makere, spoken west of the Maele by 17,500 speakers;

Meje (Madje), spoken by over 30,000 in Territoire Paulis in the basins of the Rungu, Nala and Upper Tely Rivers, extending in the south to the Nepoko River;

Mabisanga, spoken by about 4,000 in Territoire Niangara;

Majuu (Maidjuwu), spoken in Territoire Paulis by over 8,000 speakers;

Mangbele, spoken in Territoire Watsa and Gombari by 8,000 speakers.

Greenberg gives Lombi, Makere, Meje, and Popoi as distinct languages.

(2) Asua (Aka), is spoken by Pygmies living among the Maele, Meje, Abulu, and Popoi.

(3) Lendu is spoken in the ~~northeast~~ corner of Congo (Leopoldville), mainly west of Lake Albert around Djugu; also farther north in Alur Territory, in Uganda in West Nile and Toro Districts. The number of speakers is around 160,000 (estimates ranging from 110,000 to 250,000). There are two main dialects:

Northern Lendu is spoken in Congo (Leopoldville) in Territoires Djugu and Mahagi;

Southern Lendu (Dru, Ndru) is spoken in Territoire Bunia in Uganda and in Toro District and Okore County of West Nile District in Uganda.

The Mangbutu-Efe Group includes three languages.

(1) Mangbutu (Mombuttu, Wambutu) is spoken in Territoire Watsa, Congo (Leopoldville), by 8,700 speakers. According to Costermanns, the dialects are:

Mongbutu, spoken in Aribi;

Mangbutu Karo, spoken on the Kibali River;

Mangbutu Lobo, also spoken on the Kibali River;

Awimeri (Aimeri);

Bamodo.

(2) Ndo is spoken on the Congo-Uganda border by 13,000 speakers.

There are two or possibly three dialects:

Ndo (Oke'bu) spoken in Territoire Mahagi by about 9,000 speakers;

Ndo (Avari) spoken west of the Oke'bu around Mahagi Town by about 4,000 speakers;

Membi (Mumbi) may be a third dialect or may designate one or both of the above dialects.

(3) Mamvu-Efe is spoken by over 60,000 speakers in Congo and Uganda mainly in Territoire Watsa. There are five dialects, known:

Mamvu is spoken by 30,000 mainly in Territoire Watsa and by a few speakers north of the Uele River in Territoire Dungu;

Amengi is spoken on the road from the Tora mines to Wanga;

Lese is spoken by 20,000 in Territoires Watsa, Epulu, Bunia, and Beni and also in Uganda;

Mvu'ba is spoken in the extreme southeast of the Lese area and in Buamba in Uganda;

Efe is spoken by about 10,000 pygmies living among the Lese, and by a small group south of Bafwamite.

Greenberg lists Mamvu, Efe, Lese, and Mvuba as separate languages.

THE BERTA FAMILY

Berta is spoken on both sides of the Sudan-Ethiopian border, south of the Blue Nile, extending possibly as far as the junction of the Didessa River and the Blue Nile in the east, and to the Yabus River in the south. Small settlements of Berta are scattered among other tribes in the south (e.g. the Koma). Speakers in the Sudan are estimated at well over 20,000, but the number in Ethiopia is not known. Following is a list of names which may represent Berta dialects:

Dul, a locality near Kurmuk, Ethiopia;

Wa-kosho, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia;

Wa-dashi, (Fadasi), a dialect spoken in Ethiopia;

Rikabiyyah, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia;

Fadon, a group of Berta in the Belfodio area;

Fazoglo (Fazughli);

Gebelawin, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia;

Watawit, a Berta-speaking tribe or tribal section near Kurmuk;

Gamila, a tribe living around the junction of the Blue Nile and Dabus Rivers in Ethiopia;

Shogale, the principal tribe of the Berta, of which the Gamila are a part;

Mabi Tayu, on the Yabus River in the Sudan;

Fecaka and Fecamalga, on the Sillok, Malkan, and Yakan Hills;

Bararo on the Tornasi and (probably) Keili Hills on the east side of the main Berta area.

It is very probable that some of the above dialects will turn out to be actually distinct languages, upon further investigation.

THE KUNAMA FAMILY

Kunama (Cunama, Baza, Baden) is spoken in Eritrea in the southern part of the Barentu area, between the Braia and Setit (Takazze) Rivers, extending west to the Sudan border, and south into Ethiopia. There are not more than 30,000 speakers. The dialects include:

Barka, in the southeast;

Marda, in the northeast;

Aaimasa;

Tika, in the south.

This concludes the list of three separate language families. The list now focuses attention on the fourth language family, and enumerates languages under branches of that family (Eastern Sudanic).

NUBIAN BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

The five languages of this branch are spoken in Sudan by some million speakers (Welmers). Population estimates for individual languages are either unreliable, or lacking altogether. The areas in which some of the languages are spoken extend from Sudan into Egypt.

(1) Nubian (Hill Nubian, Nuba, Nubiyin) is spoken in Eastern Sudan. The various dialects are located in the western and southern parts of Jebel Dair; in the northern and eastern part of the Karadu Hills between Dilling and Delami; on El Hugeirat Hills in western Kordofan District; in and around

Dilling; in the Karbo Hills twenty miles west of Dilling; and in the Wali Hills south of the Karbo Hills. Nine Nubian dialects are reported:

Dair

El Hugeirat

Kadaru (Kadero)

Karko (Garko)

Wali

Western Kadaru

Dilling (Delen)

Gulfan (Ghulfan): 3,300 speakers

Kundugr.

(2) Dongola-Kenuz (Dongola, Danagla, Kenuz, Kenuzi) is spoken in northern Sudan, along the Nile. More specifically, this language is found in Dongola Province of Sudan and in Egypt, from Seiyala northwards to beyond Aswan. The two dialects, Dongola and Kenuz, are practically identical.

(3) Mahas-Fiyadikka (Fiyadikkya, Fadicca, Fadicha, Fadija, Fiadidja) is spoken between Dongola in Sudan and the Egyptian border; also from the Sudan-Egyptian border northwards to Kurusku. The number of speakers is unknown.

(4) Midob (Meidob) is spoken in Jebel Midob, Dar Fur, Sudan.

(5) Birked (Birqed, Birkit, Murgi, Birged) is spoken in Sudan. The specific area is Dar Fur, north and east of the Dafu and Baygo, east of Jebel Murra between Jabel Harayt and the Rizaykat (Arab) country, also north of Nyala. There are said to be some Birked northeast of El Fasher, a few in

Kordofan south of El Oheid, and some in Wadai. The number of speakers is not reported.

BEIR-DIDINGA BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

Some 60,000 speakers in Ethiopia and Sudan speak a half dozen languages, more or less, that belong to the Beir-Didinga Branch.

(1) Murle is spoken by over 40,000 speakers in the Sudan on the Pibor River near Pibor Post, on and around the Maruwa Hills, on the Boma Plateau to the east and north; and by relatively few speakers in Ethiopia.

(2) Didinga speakers number either 3,000 (Tucker and Bryan) or 11,500 (Welmers); speakers are found in southern Sudan in the Didinga and Boya Hills, and to the north.

(3) Longarim speakers number either 1,000 (Tucker and Bryan) or 4,000 (Welmers); speakers are found in southern Sudan in the Boya Hills north of the Didinga speakers.

(4) Mekan is spoken in Ethiopia along the Akobo River to the north and northwest of Maji. It has three dialects (Tucker and Bryan):

Tirma (Tirima), on the Sudan-Ethiopian border west of Maji on the Kibish River and on the Tid and Birima Mountains;

Tid (Tidi), on Mount Tid;

Zelmamu (Zelmamo, Zuimamu), north of the Tirma speakers.

(5) Suri has 4,000 speakers in Sudan on the Boma Plateau; they are scattered among the Murle speakers.

Greenberg lists also the following languages, but there seems to be

great disagreement among Africanists as to their status:

(6) Masongo may designate a cluster of dialects in an Ethiopian area to the south and southeast of Gambela as far south as the Bako River (Tucker and Bryan). The speakers number about 6,000 (Murdock).

(7) Murzu (Mursi, Murzi) refers to a people in Ethiopia between the Omo and Usno Rivers, and between the Omo and Kibish Rivers. They may speak Tid or Makan (Tucker and Bryan).

(8) Surma includes Tirina and Zulmanu, according to Greenberg (but see Makan, above). It may merely be a collective name for several tribes; or it may refer to Tirma (Tucker and Bryan).

BAREA BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

Barea (Barya) is spoken in Eritrea in the northern part of the Barentu area and in the valleys of the Rivers Amideb, Mogareb, Maref, and Baraka. There are 15,000 speakers.

TABI BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

Tabi (Ingassana) is spoken in Sudan north of the Sudan Berta on the Tabi Massif and outlying hills. Estimates of the number of speakers vary from 8,000 to 20,000. Tribal names associated with Ingassana include Agadi, Bagis, Buk, Bulmut, Kilgu, Kukuli, Mugum, Sidak, and Tabi.

NYIMANG BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

(1) Nyimang is spoken west and northwest of Dilling, on the range of hills of which Jebel Nyimang is a part, and on the Mandal range. Estimates of the number of speakers range from 26,000 to 37,000.

(2) Afitti (Ditti, Unietti) is spoken in the eastern part of Jebel Dair, with Sidra as the main center. The three alternate names represent the three groups of people who speak the language. There are 2,900 speakers.

TEMEIN BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

(1) Temein is spoken in Sudan, in the Temain Hills southwest of Dilling, between Jebels Ghulfan Morung and Julud (Gulud) by 2,300 speakers.

(2) Keiga Jirru is spoken in Sudan, in Keiga Jirru west of Debri, and in the villages of Tesei (Teis) and Umm Danab, northeast of Kadugli by 1,400 speakers.

TAMA BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

The four languages of this branch are spoken in the Dar Fur Province of Sudan and in the adjoining area of Chad. The total number of speakers for the four languages is approximately 150,000.

(1) Tama is spoken in both Chad and Sudan by over 60,000 speakers.

There are four Tama dialects:

Tama, spoken in Chad (in Wadai, Dar Tama, and District Goz Beida); also in Sudan, in Dar Fur about 70 miles north of Geneina, and in Dar Masalit east of Geneina, and around Kebkebiya west of El Fasher. Some 45,000 Tama speakers are reported for Chad alone.

Jabaal (Mileere) is spoken in Dar Fur by about 6,000 speakers and in Chad by fewer speakers.

Erenga is spoken in Dar Fur, north and east of Geneina, by 7,500 speakers.

Orra (Gimr, Qimr) is spoken in Dar Fur, at Maku twelve miles east of Geneina

on Wadi Kaja, by 1,500 speakers.

(2) Sungor is spoken in Chad between Abéché and Adré, mainly in Géréda, and in Dar Fur, at Melmele in Dar Masalit. There are 30,000 speakers in Chad and 9,000 in Dar Fur.

(3) Mararit (Merarit) is spoken in Chad and in Dar Fur by 42,000 speakers. There are two dialects:

Mararit (Merarit), spoken in Chad in the District Am Dam and part of Goz Beida, and in Dar Fur in Dal Masalit. In Chad there are 15,000 speakers and in Dar Fur 400.

Abu Sharib, spoken in Chad in District Biltine north of Abéché by 26,500 speakers.

(4) Kibet is spoken in Chad by 16,000 speakers. There are three Kibet dialects:

Murru (Murro), spoken in one village in District Goz Beida by 1,000 speakers; Dagel, spoken in Région Salamat and District Am Dam by over 5,000 speakers; Kibet, spoken west of the Dagel by 10,000 speakers.

DAJU BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

The seven languages of this branch are spoken by fewer than a hundred thousand speakers, most of whom live in Dar Fur and Kordofan Provinces of Sudan; some in Wadai of Chad. Estimates for the branch as a whole give as few as 60,000 speakers; the total for all languages itemized gives a sum of about 87,000.

(1) Daju (Dagu) of Dar Dadjo is spoken in Wadai, Chad, by 27,000 speakers.

(2) Daju (Dagu) of Dar Sila is spoken by 30,000 speakers in Dar Sila (Sula) in Wadai, mainly in District Goz Beida but also in District Am Dam.

(3) Daju (Dagu) of Dar Fur is spoken in the Daju Hills twenty-five miles northeast of Nyalaland also in Geneina District in Dar Masalit. There are about 12,000 speakers. Baygo may be a dialect of this language; Greenberg lists it separately.

(4) Daju (Dagu) of West Kordofan is spoken by about 6,000 speakers in Kordofan Province and in the Daju Hills near Lagowa. The main settlements are Dar el Kabira, Nyukri, and Tomanyik.

(5) Njalgulgule is spoken in Equatoria Province on the Sopo River just above the Sopo-Boro confluence. There are about 900 speakers.

(6) Liguri is spoken in the Nuba Hills, specifically Liguri and other hills northeast of Kadugli, Sudan. There are about 2,000 speakers of three dialects:

Liguri

Saburi

Tallau (Talo).

(7) Shatt is spoken by scattered groups in the Shatt Hills southwest of Kadugli; and also in parts of Abu Hashim and Abu Sinun. The number of speakers in the Shatt Hills is about 9,000.

TEUSO BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

The Teuso languages are spoken in Eastern Uganda. The number of speakers appears to be very small, although definite figures are not available.

- (1) Teuso (Teuth) is spoken on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment in Timir Forest by about 1,500 speakers.
- (2) Dorobo is spoken on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment.
- (3) Tepes (Tepeth) is spoken by a few hundred people in the Karamoja District on Mounts Debasien (Kadam), Moroto, and Nepak (Kamalinga).
- (4) Nuangeya (Nyangia) is spoken on the southern part of the Nuangeya Range.

WESTERN (traditional) NILOTIC BRANCH OF EASTERN SUDANIC

The Nilotic languages here considered are spoken in southern Sudan and northern Uganda; the area of Nilotic languages also extends westward into Congo (Leopoldville) and eastward into Kenya. The total number of speakers for these languages approximates four million. Dinka and Luo (of Kenya) each have close to a million speakers. Acholi, Nuer, Lango, Alur, and Shilluk are other numerically outstanding languages.

The Dinka Group comprises many differentiated dialects some of which may turn out to be separate languages upon further investigation.

Dinka is spoken in southern Sudan along the Nile and its western branches. The average estimated number of speakers is around a million (900,000), though estimates range all the way from a little over half a million to two million. There are four main Dinka dialects: Padang, Bór, Agar and Rek.

Padang is spoken mostly in Northern District, Upper Nile Province, but also on the left bank of the Nile as far as the Bahr el Zeraf; and on the right bank around Lake No as far as the Bahr el Ghazal. The sub-dialects of Padang

are:

Abialang, Paloc (Paloic), Dongjol (Donjol), Ngok (Ngork), Thoi, Rut, Luac (Luaic), and Ruweng (Rueng).

Bor is spoken at and around Bor on the right bank of the Nile.

Sub-dialects include:

Bor (Bor Gok), Borathoi, Ghol, Nyarueng (Nyarreweng), and Twi.

Agar is spoken southeast of Tonj, north of Rumbek. Closely related dialects are:

Aliab, Gok, and Ciec (Cic, Chich).

Rek (Raik) is spoken in an area along the Jwi River District which extends into the Aweil District. Including the closely related dialects listed below, the total number of speakers is at least 400,000:

Luac (Luaic), Tuic (Twich, Twij), Paliat (Baliat), Palioupiny (Palioping), and Abiem.

The Nuer Group includes at least two separate languages.

(1) Nuer is spoken mostly in Upper Nile Province of Sudan; the Nuer area also extends up the Sobat River across the Ethiopian border. The estimated number of Nuer speakers averages 300,000, but estimates range from about 250,000 to 500,000. There are four main dialects, in terms of the number of speakers:

Thiang, Lou, Western Jikany, and Eastern Jikany; and two minor dialects with only about 5,000 speakers each — Nyuong and Door.

Thiang is spoken west of Bahr el Jebel. Closely related dialects, in the same

general area, are Bul, Leek (Leik), Jagei, Laak, and Gawaar (Gaweir).

Lou is spoken east of the Gawaar, extending towards the Sobat River. This dialect differs considerably from Thiang.

Western Jikany is spoken on the Bahr el Ghazal. Closely related dialects are Dok and Aak, west of Bahr el Jebel.

Eastern Jikany is spoken in Sudan in the region of Nasser on the upper Sobat, and across the border in Ethiopia. This dialect is farthest removed phonetically and in vocabulary from all other known dialects of Nuer.

Nyuong is spoken west of the Bahr el Jebel.

Door (Dor) is also spoken west of the Bahr el Jebel.

Various dialects of Nuer are spoken by the Dinka living along the Khor Filus and near Fangak.

(2) Atuot is spoken in Lakes District near Yirroi, in an enclave among the Dinka by some 25,000 speakers. There are two Atuot dialects:

Apak

Aril.

Seven separate languages are spoken in the Northern Lwo Group.

(1) Shilluk is spoken by about 110,000 speakers in Sudan, Upper Nile Province (between the Nile and Kordofan Province boundary from Lat. 11° in the north to about 80 miles west of Tonga); also on the right bank of the Nile (around the junction of the Nile and Sobat, and for about twenty miles up the Sobat).

(2) Anuak (Anywak) is spoken in Sudan on the lower Akobo River in

Ethiopia on the right bank of the Akobo and on the Baro and Gila (Bako) Rivers; and in Sudan on Lafon Hill northeast of Torit and among the so-called Madi or Acoli of Opari District. The number of speakers for the first two main areas is estimated at from 35,000 to 45,000 and for the third area at 11,000, about a third of whom, all told, are located in Sudan.

(3) Burun is spoken in the Gezira Province of Sudan by an estimated 22,000 speakers. Tribes speaking Burun dialects are:

Burun (Barun), with some 18,000 speakers in Kurmuk, Mughaja, Mufwa, and Abuldugu;

Ragreig, about 3,500 speakers east of the Burun in an enclave among the Berta.

(4) Maban (Meban, also known as Southern Burun) is spoken by over 20,000 speakers in two dialects:

Maban, spoken by almost 20,000 speakers living on the border of Gezira and Upper Nile Provinces, between the Yabus and Tombak Rivers in the north and Khor Daga in the south;

Jumjum, spoken by people living along Khor Jumjum on Jebels Tunga, Terta, and Wadea.

(5) Lwo (Jur, Giur) is spoken north of Wan towards Aweil, and south-east of Wau as far as Tonj by 20,000 speakers.

(6) Thuri is spoken by groups of bilingual people who also speak Dinka and have been practically absorbed into the Dinka. Estimates range from 5,500 to 15,000 speakers for four dialects:

Thuri (Shatt) is spoken on the Raga-Nyamlell Road adjacent to the Palioupiny,

and also on the Wau-Dem Zubeir Road by probably less than 5,000 speakers.

Bodho is spoken between Wau and Aweil by possibly as many as 5,000 speakers.

Colo is spoken in the same area as Bodho by an estimated 1,600 speakers.

Manangeer speakers are estimated at 1,500 to 4,000 located among the Rek Dinka between the Jur and Lol Rivers.

(7) Bor is spoken by an estimated 6,000 speakers mainly along the Wau-Tembura Road near Raffili, between the Bo and Bussere Rivers, and also farther south towards Tembura.

Eight separate languages are spoken in the Southern Lwo Group.

(1) Acoli (Acholi) is spoken in the Acholi District of Uganda extending into Sudan in Opari District. The total number of speakers may be as high as 340,000; about 200,000 of the Acholi are located in Uganda.

(2) Lango is spoken in Uganda in Lango District and part of Acholi District by 265,000 to 275,000 speakers.

(3) Kumam (Akum) is spoken by 56,000 people in Uganda, mainly in Teso District, but also in Lango District between the Teso and Lango.

(4) Labwor is spoken by about 5,000 speakers in Uganda on the Labwor Hills on the borders of Karamoja and Acholi Districts.

(5) Lwo (Dho Pa Lwo, Chopi) is spoken by about 6,000 speakers in Uganda, mainly in the southeastern part of Acholi District and the northern part of Bunyoro District.

(6) Alur is spoken by over 200,000 speakers distributed as follows:

in Uganda north of Lake Albert, mainly in the West Nile District (over 80,000); in Congo (Leopoldville) west of Lake Albert in Territoire Mahagi (over 72,000); by the Jo Nam between the Nile at Pakwach and the Alur escarpment to the west (over 15,000); by the Jukot (over 16,000) and by the Wanyoro (over 15,000), both in Congo (Leopoldville).

(7) Adhola (Dhopadola, Budama) is spoken in an area in Uganda (Mbale District) that extends into Kenya. Uganda speakers alone number over 73,000.

(8) Luo (Nyife, Nife) is spoken by three quarters of a million speakers in Kenya's Central, Southern, and Northern Nyanza Districts extending southwards into the northern part of Tanganyika. They are also scattered through Kenya in the larger towns. Most of the Luo speakers live in Kenya.

TOWARD AN INTERPHYLUM LINK

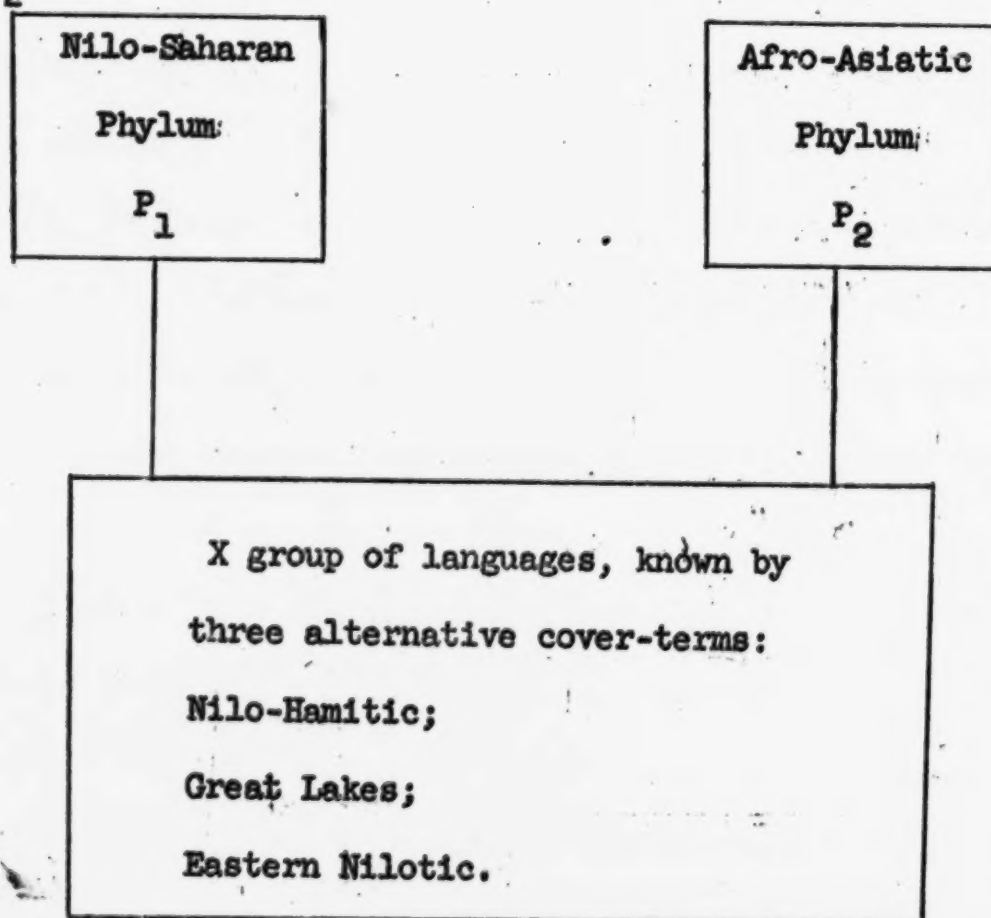
We include in the Chari-Nile phylum a list (immediately above) of the individual languages that are ascribed to only one of the two Nilotic branches—the traditional one (Western Nilotic Branch of Eastern Sudanic). Beside this, some Africanists would include in Chari-Nile a list of languages labelled (traditionally) Nilo-Hamitic, then (successively) Great Lakes, and Eastern Nilotic (both successive labels supplied by Greenberg). But other Africanists see no safe way of affiliating these Nilo-Hamitic languages except by placing them in the Afro-Asiatic phylum below—'safety' being identified in this context with cognate counting. It will be observed that the list of Nilo-Hamitic languages are not included below (5), as members of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Nor are the Nilo-Hamitic languages included here,

as members of the Chari-Nile phylum.

Instead they are placed in splendid isolation below (3), to point up the fact that they constitute an unpenetrated reef in Africanist research, rather than to suggest that Nilo-Hamitic languages constitute an isolated language family or phylum, for they are certainly not as unrelated to the four phyla of Africa as the four are unrelated to each other. To the contrary, the barrier to agreement among Africanists stems not from the fact that the Nilo-Hamitic languages are so splendidly isolated, but rather that they bear evidence that they have more relatives than can be comfortably accounted for, short of postulating the Nilo-Hamitic languages to be a link which would serve to connect the languages of Subsaharan Africa with those of Eurasia, by merging the Nilo-Saharan Macro-phylum with the Afro-Asiatic phylum. This possibility has not escaped the attention of Africanists who, though far from being timid old men in their linguistic work, content themselves here with drawing attention to the possibility, rather than advocating work toward the establishment of an enormous Nilo-Saharan-Afro-Asiatic Macro-phylum.

THE NILO-HAMITIC CONTROVERSY

3.0. The main controversy is diagramed below. If the Nilo-Saharan Phylum, with its subrelationships as given above (1.0 to 1.7), is designated P_1 , and the Afro-Asiatic Phylum, as identified below (5), is designated P_2 , then the controversy can be said to result from the fact that the group of languages sometimes called Nilo-Hamitic have some still unknown or undetermined or X relationships either to P_1 or to P_2 , or to both P_1 and P_2 , or to neither P_1 nor P_2 .



The question is: how are the X group of languages related to P_1 and/or P_2 (or neither). The two main conflicting views are now given in oversimplified terms. First, the X group of languages has its closest relationship to the traditional or West Nilotic branch of the East Sudanic family in the Chari-Nile phylum, as identified above (2.1). Secondly, and in contradiction to the

first view, the X group of languages has its closest affinities with Cushitic in the Afro-Asiatic Phylum, as identified below (5.1). Greenberg is the main proponent of the first view; Hohenberg and Huntingford of the second view. The proponents of each of these opposing views, however, recognize the possibility of a remote relationship between Nilo-Hamitic (our X group) and Nilotic (P_1) on the one hand, and Cushitic (P_2) on the other. The Nilo-Hamitic or X group of languages may thus emerge as a link between the Nilo-Saharan phylum and the Afro-Asiatic phylum.

Greenberg's position concerning Nilo-Hamitic is as follows (1948):

"Here ... the typical Hamito-Semitic pronominal and verbal elements are entirely lacking. Sex gender is indeed present, but the formatives used—1 masculine and n feminine—show no agreement with those employed in the Hamito-Semitic languages. There are some vocabulary resemblances ... but the fact that the resemblances are almost entirely with the neighboring Cushite languages and not with other branches of Hamito-Semitic shows that we have to do with borrowing.

"The relationship of the Nilo-Hamitic languages lies obviously in another direction. There are thoroughgoing resemblances in fundamental vocabulary with the Nilotic languages—Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, and others. Pronominal and verbal forms show close correspondence in the two groups. We find highly idiosyncratic plural formations shared by both groups of languages. The mere fact that the Nilo-Hamitic languages have grammatical gender while the Nilotic do not, is, as we have already seen, not in itself decisive. Moreover, Shilluk, a Nilotic language, has *ja-l* 'boy', *ja-n* 'girl' [the only example of these suffixes in the language] with the very same affixes for male and female quoted ... as characteristic of the Nilo-Hamitic languages.

"Indeed, the relationship between the Nilotic and the Nilo-Hamitic languages is so close that they must be considered as forming together a single subfamily of a wider group to which I apply the name Eastern Sudanic. The other subfamilies are Nuba, Beir-Didinga, Baréa, Tabi, Merarit, and Dagu (or Dajo). This linguistic stock will be subject matter of a subsequent essay in this series where full proof concerning the validity of this grouping will be presented. The view that the Nilo-Hamitic is a kind of linguistic hybrid of Nilotic and Hamitic components, consisting of Nilotic bases with Hamitic prefixes and suffixes will likewise be considered and rejected. An actual examination of the evidence will show that, in reality, there are very few resemblances of this order, no more than can be ascribed to chance convergence."

Greenberg argues that these languages are not Afro-Asiatic even though there are vocabulary resemblances with Cushitic in the Afro-Asiatic Phylum. He continues:

"Lexical comparison of the Great Lakes and the Nilotic Languages reveal vocabulary resemblances in fundamental noun, adjective, and verb stems that are so obvious and extensive in number that it would be pointless to enumerate them. In a list of common nouns, resemblances between the two groups would run over fifty percent Nor does anyone take the impossible position of denying their existence. They are simply discounted by many authors in favor of supposed Hamitic structural features in morphology. In the exposition which follows, I shall attempt to show that there are many highly specific points of resemblance to the Nilotic languages in morphology as well as in vocabulary, while there is little that points in the direction of Hamito-Semitic."

Greenberg gives morphological similarities in personal pronouns, noun

plural formations, interrogative pronouns, demonstratives and relatives, and the copula /a/ (which also functions as a past tense formative).

"The detailed similarities in morphology ... [alluded to above], in conjunction with the large number of vocabulary items common to the two groups seem sufficient to prove the genetic relationship of the Nilotic and the Great Lakes or so-called Nilo-Hamitic languages beyond any reasonable doubt.

"If this is so, the reader may wonder why the Great Lakes languages have been usually called Nilo-Hamitic. As a matter of fact, the term Nilo-Hamitic has been used by different writers with widely varying meanings. It seems to have been all things to all men. To some, for example Bernhard Struck who accepted Meinhof's thesis that these languages were Hamitic pure and simple, the term seems to have meant merely Hamitic languages in the Nilotic area. He states: 'Besides, the term Nilo-Hamitic indicates in a very appropriate manner the Hamites inhabiting the Nile valley in a north-south direction' (B. Struck, 'Die Sprache der Tatoga und Irakuleute,' p. 119 fn. 4 in F.R. Jaeger, *Das Hochland der Riesenkrater* (Berlin, 1911)). This is evidently C.G. Seligman's view, though he correlates the linguistic term Nilo-Hamitic with a racial designation Half-Hamite, indicating Negro admixture. A different view is that of D. Westermann, who groups together the Nilotic and Great Lakes languages under the term Nilotic but calls the northern division (i.e. Nilotic as used in this article) Niloto-Sudanic and the Southern Great Lakes Division Niloto-Hamitic. He remarks:

So the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic is not easy to define; they all have components of Sudanic and Hamitic origin, only that in some cases the first is prevalent, in others the latter (D. Westermann, *The Shilluk People* (Berlin, 1921), p. 33).

Still another nuance of opinion is that of G.W. Murray, who extends the term Niloto-Hamitic to Nubian also. After stating that in Nilotic, Bari, Masai, and Nubian we have "four nearly allied dialects", we are informed that at a later period Hamito-Semitic influences ... permeated three of the groups, Nubian, Bari, and Masai, which we therefore call Niloto-Hamitic, and to a slight extent affected the Shilluk group also (G.W. Murray, *The Nilotic Languages, a Comparative Essay* (Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 50, pp. 327-368, 1920), p. 360). To this Hamito-Semitic influence is ascribed the plural suffixes, some of the verbal derivative affixes, the gender system, and other complex morphological features of the Great Lakes languages.

"Recently we have the view of A.N. Tucker who states that the Nilo-Hamitic languages are defined by three characteristics:

1. a large common vocabulary of Nilotic stems;
 2. a large common vocabulary of non-Nilotic stems;
 3. a large common vocabulary of Hamitic-like prefixes and suffixes
- (Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic Languages of Africa (London, 1948), p. 48).

"It can be seen that these opinions are of two main types: those which assert that the Great Lakes languages are Hamitic and those according to which they are basically Nilotic but have undergone Hamitic structural influence to the point where they must be considered a kind of linguistic hybrid.

"To sum up. The evidence of both vocabulary and morphology indicates genetic relationship of the Great Lakes and Nilotic languages. Where the Great Lakes languages border Hamitic languages of the Cushite group, there has been, not unexpectedly, a certain amount of word-borrowing which has been moderate in scope. This contact situation has not significantly affected the

basic structure of the Great Lakes languages."

J. Hohenberger (Comparative Masai Word List, Africa xxvi, 281-289, 1956) takes a view opposite to Greenberg when he concludes that "the next closest relationship of Masai (and the Nilo-Hamitic languages as a whole) lies with Hamito-Semitic [Afro-Asiatic]. About 33 word stems, i.e. more than two-thirds of the word lists [namely, Greenberg's Niger-Congo word lists] reveal correspondences in Hamitic and Semitic [66%] ... From this it is evident that Meinhof's Hamitic thesis concerning Masai is fundamentally right ..." Hohenberger views Nilo-Hamitic as being related to both Nilotic and Hamito-Semitic, but more closely to the latter.

Although Greenberg holds the opposite view, he "... [does] not exclude the possibility of an ultimate relation between the Chari-Nile and Hamito-Semitic families as wholes. If this were so, then the 'Nilo-Hamitic' languages might be expected to show some significant resemblances to Hamito-Semitic languages but no more so than Nilotic or any other language group within the Chari-Nile family. But under any circumstances, if my view is correct, the 'Nilo-Hamitic' languages will show more resemblance to the Nilotic than to the Hamito-Semitic, while if Hohenberger is correct the reverse will be true. (Nilotic, 'Nilo-Hamitic', and Hamito-Semitic: A Reply, Africa xxvii, 364-377, 1957,) To further strengthen his argument, Greenberg also claims that "The number of Bari-Masai cognates with Nilotic is even greater than the number of related forms among different subgroups within Cushitic. Thus between the large Eastern Cushitic and Central Cushitic subgroups even a liberal procedure would not allow more than 15 related words as against at least 28 between Bari-Masai and Nilotic."

A detailed exchange between Greenberg and Hohenberger concerning the

number and validity of both lexical and morphological resemblances between Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, and Hamito-Semitic, ends in severe disagreement. Each maintains his position as decisively as the other: ('... the present evidence gives a decisive answer in favor of [the closest relation of Nilo-Hamitic to] Nilotic both quantitatively and qualitatively' (Greenberg); 'The chief aim of my article was to show that Masai and Nilo-Hamitic contain a very considerable Hamito-Semitic component, and this contention rests on reliable evidence' (Hohenberger, Some Notes on Nilotic, 'Nilo-Hamitic', and Hamito-Semitic, by Joseph H. Greenberg, *Africa* xxviii, 37-41, 1958).

G.W.B. Huntingford (The "Nilo-Hamitic" Languages, *SJA* xii, 200-222, 1956) makes the remark about Greenberg's Chari-Nile in general, that it 'includes some strange bedfellows' and 'is a monstrosity quite unjustifiable either philologically or factually'. He goes on to show that Chari-Nile has definite Hamitic affinities.

Tucker and Bryan (1956) give a summarized version of the lexical resemblances between some of the language groups under discussion: Central and Eastern Sudanic [as used by Greenberg] share 54% of their basic vocabulary; Eastern Sudanic (especially Nilo-Hamitic including Masai) and Hamitic share 66% of their basic vocabulary (computed by Hohenberger); Chari-Nile and Cushitic share 30% of their basic vocabulary (personal communication to Tucker and Bryan by Huntingford).

Tucker and Bryan are skeptical of a definite relationship between Nilo-Hamitic and any other group: 'The only conclusion which can be reached at this stage is that mere vocabulary comparison, unsupported by phonology, may give rise to a variety of classifications, each as convincing as the other ... That is why ... [we] prefer to keep ... classification down to the 'Larger

Unit', in which the relationship of member Languages or Language Groups is indisputable, leaving the wider classification open for further research."

Tucker and Bryan (1956, pp. 149-150), contrary to Greenberg, have pointed out many dissimilarities between Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic.

THE NILO-HAMITIC OR X GROUP OF LANGUAGES

3.1. The eleven languages of this indeterminate X group are divided into six subgroups. These languages are spoken in southern Sudan, northern and eastern Uganda, western Kenya, northern Tanganyika and the northeastern corner of Congo (Leopoldville). The total number of speakers is over 1,780,000. Teso and Nandi each have about half a million speakers, followed by Bari and Masai with a quarter of a million speakers each. The six subgroups are known as Bari, Lotuho, Teso, Ngasa, Maasai, and Nandi.

3.1.1. Bari Group or subgroup consists of seven main dialects with a total of 226,000 speakers:

Bari has 35,000 speakers located in southern Sudan along the Nile going south from Terakeka on the left bank and Mongalla on the right bank as far as the Kajo Kaji escarpment.

Nyepu is spoken northwest of Kajo Kaji between the Kakwa and Kuku (see below). The number of speakers ranges from 2,800 to 3,500.

Mondari is spoken by 36,000 speakers in the area around Terakeka, Tindalu, and Tali,

Pojulu (Fajulu), with some 26,000 speakers, is spoken in a number of widely scattered areas on the Sudan-Congo (Leopoldville) border.

Nyangbara is spoken by about 18,000 speakers in several areas on the Sudan-Congo (Leopoldville) border.

Kuku is spoken on the Kajo Kaji Plateau, and in the West Nile District of Uganda, Madi sub-district, by about 24,000 speakers (all but 300 from the Sudan area).

Kakwa is spoken by 84,000 speakers in the Yei District of Sudan extending into Congo (Leopoldville) westward at Aba and southward around Mahagi, and in the West Nile District of Uganda.

(Greenberg lists Fajulu, Kakwa and Mondari as separate languages.)

3.1.2. Lotuho Group or subgroup consists of eleven main dialect groups with an estimated 66,000 speakers for dialects for which figures are given. The dialects, spoken in southern Sudan, are as follows:

Lotuho, the central dialect, is spoken by about 36,000 speakers in the plains around Torit, mainly to the north and east.

Logir is spoken on the Imatong Hills. The number of speakers is included in the figure for the Lango below.

Logiri is spoken on the Dongotono Hills northeast of the Logir.

Lomya is spoken on the Lafit Hills by about 4,000 speakers.

Dongotono is spoken on the Dongotono Hills east of Torit, with a small offshoot in the Madial area. The number of speakers is included in the figure for Lango below.

Lowudo is spoken north of Torit.

Lorwama (Lowama) is spoken around Madial. It is reported to resemble Dongotono closely, but is not inter-intelligible with Lotuho. It is also spoken on the Acholi Hills southeast of the Dongotono.

Lopit is spoken on Lafit Hill.

Lango is spoken southeast of Torit on the Imatong and southern Dongotono Hills.

There are some 4,000 speakers including Logir and Dongotono above.

Koriok (Koriuk) is spoken by 10,000 speakers, mainly in the Kineti Valley with a few living on the north side of the Imatong Hills;

Lokoya is spoken on the Lueh and Lyria Hills north of Torit by more than 12,000 speakers.

3.1.3. Teso Group or subgroup comprises (1) Toposa, (2) Turkana, (3) Karamojong, (4) Teso.

(1) Toposa (Topotha, Taposa, Dabossa, etc.) is spoken by about 34,000 speakers in Sudan on both sides of the Zingietta (Thingeita) and Lokalyan Rivers. They are semi-nomadic and may be found as far as the Kenya border. The Donyiro (Dongiro, Idongiro) or Nyangatom (Nyamatom) are a Toposa offshoot.

(2) Turkana is spoken by some 85,000 speakers in Kenya in an area bounded by Lake Rudolph, the Suk country, and the borders of Uganda and Sudan.

(3) Karamojong consists of three or possibly four closely interrelated dialects corresponding to tribal divisions which are spoken in the Karamoja District of Uganda by 95,000 speakers.

Karamojong: 56,000 speakers.

Jie: 18,000 speakers.

Dodos (Dodoth, Dodotho, Dodosi): 20,000 speakers.

Ngiakwai: 1,000 speakers on the southern end of the Labwor Hills may also belong to this cluster.

Greenberg gives Jie and Dodoth as separate languages.

(4) Teso is spoken by over 500,000 speakers in Uganda, mainly in Teso District but also in Mbale District, and in Kenya, mainly in Northern Nyanza District. Over 90% of the speakers are in Uganda.

3.1.4. Ngasa Group or subgroup is spoken in Tanganyika on the north-eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro in Uresi Chiefdom of Chagga Territory by an

estimated 1,000 speakers. It shows affinities with Maasai, Bari and Teso, but is not known well enough to be classified with certainty.

3.1.5. Maasai Group or subgroup consists of one main dialect and two lesser ones:

Maasai proper is spoken in Kenya on the Masai Reserve in Narok and Kajiado Districts and in Tanganyika in Masai District of Northern Province and scattered in other districts. There are about 190,000 speakers, slightly more than half of whom are in Tanganyika. This dialect embraces many tribes.

Sampur (Samburu): 20,000 speakers in Rift Valley Province in Maralel sub-district of Rumuruti District.

Tiamus (Njamusi, Njempe, etc.): 3,500 speakers near Lake Baringo.

3.1.6. Nandi Group or subgroup comprises (1) Nandi, (2) Pokot, and (3) Totoga.

(1) Nandi is spoken mainly in Kenya and Uganda but also in Tanganyika by over 430,000 people (1948 census figure which Tucker and Bryan question as being too high). There are eleven principal dialects, listed as follows:

Nandi is spoken in the Nandi District of Kenya on the Nandi escarpment and around Kapsabet by 116,000 speakers..

Kipsikis is spoken in Kericho District south of the Nandi by 160,000 speakers.

Keyo is spoken in Elgeyo-Marekwet District east of the Nandi in the Kerio Valley by 40,000 speakers. This dialect resembles Kipsikis in vocabulary, Nandi in tone.

Tuken is spoken in Baringo District, northeast of the Nandi in the Kerio Valley by 66,000 speakers.

Terik or Nyangori (Nyangnori) is spoken southwest of the Nandi.

Kony is spoken on the Kenya-Uganda border south of the Sapiny.

Pok or Lago is spoken on the southern slopes of Mount Elgon.

Sapiny is spoken in Uganda in Mbale District on the northern slopes of Mount Elgon by 24,000 speakers.

Sabaot (Sabaut) is spoken on the western slopes of Mount Elgon by 25,000 speakers including the Kony and Pok above.

Kipsorai (Sore) is spoken on the western slopes of Elgon.

Mbai is also spoken on the western slopes of Elgon.

Nandi dialects are also spoken by the Dorobo (Nderobo, Torobo), forest-dwelling hunters living in scattered settlements in Kenya and Tanganyika.

Murdock gives a figure of about 1,500 for three groups.

(2) Pokot (Suk) is spoken in parts of Kenya and Uganda by some 90,000 speakers. There are four dialects:

Pokot is spoken in Baringo District of Rift Valley Province and in West Suk District, both in Kenya, and in Karamoja District in Uganda by about 60,000 speakers.

Markwet (Maragwet, Merkwet) is spoken in Elgeyo-Marakwet District in Kenya, south of the Pokot, by over 22,000 speakers.

Endo (To, Cepleng) is spoken between the Keyo and the Pokot on the Elgeyo escarpment by over 7,000 speakers.

Kadam (Ngikadama) is spoken on Mount Debasien (Kadam) in Uganda and is almost extinct.

(3) Tatoga is spoken in Tanganyika, mainly in Mbulu District of Northern Province around Mount Hanang, but also in Musoma and Shinyanga Districts of Lake Province and Manyoni and Singida Districts of Central Province. The number of speakers is around 64,000. The Tatoga consist of several tribes the best known of which include the Barabaik, Gisamajenk, Dororajek, Buradik, Bajut, Iseimajek, and Rutageink.

4.0. The attention of all investigators of Bushman and Hottentot languages was arrested, from the very beginning of research in South African languages, by the fact these languages distinguish consonants by a kind of indrawn or injective or 'click' articulation. The question that continues to plague some investigators is whether this is all that Bushman and Hottentot languages have in common (and hence that a cover-term such as Khoisan for such click languages is genetically misleading), or whether the admittedly diverse sound systems and even more divergent grammars and lexicons can be reconstructed (and thereby justify the postulation that Bushman and Hottentot are branches of one language family or phylum called Khoisan).

The arguments in support of both sides of this question are summarized in the next several paragraphs. But this summary is not given here in order to marshal evidence to prove that the consensus of opinion favors the genetic interpretation of Khoisan. Lexicostatistic evidence is sufficient to attest this in a phylum linguistic perspective. Those who doubt this seem to lack the phylum perspective; they look for closer relationships (subrelationships) such as one could expect to encounter in a close-knit language family rather than in a language phylum.

Both sides of the Khoisan question are summarized here (4.0) in order to show that what really remains subject to possible future revision is the major grouping of Khoisan languages, and the justification for placing a particular language in a particular major group.

We have attempted, in the list of actual Khoisan languages (4.1, below)

to avoid decision-making, to present all sides of the continuing controversy and, in short, to stick closely to reporting. But it will facilitate appreciation of this report if the history of the controversy is reviewed first. This now follows.

Studies in the Khoisan languages have been progressing for well over a century beginning with the research of W. H. Bleek who was ably helped by his sister-in-law, Miss L. C. Lloyd, in producing material in the then almost unknown Bushman and Hottentot languages. The spirit of family enterprise continued well into the second quarter of this century when Dorothea Bleek, trained by her aunt, continued the work her father began. Her task was outlined by J. A. Engelbrecht in the introduction to her posthumously published Bushman Dictionary (1956):

"Miss Bleek . . . directed her efforts exclusively to Bushman itself with the object of determining the linguistic affinity and relationship between the languages or language groups concerned . . . [information] on grouping and distribution [began] to appear in Miss Bleek's work; generally they [were] brief, whereas in Festschrift Meinhof (1927) they are given with much more detail. Shortly after, namely in 1929, she published her Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages."

The classification put forward in this work might be called the classical position on the affiliations of the various Bushman and Hottentot languages. This is not to say that Miss Bleek's classification was universally accepted, for although her Comparative Vocabularies appeared in 1929, Bloomfield wrote

in 1933 that "The portion of southwestern Africa that was not Bantu-speaking [belongs], to two unrelated speech areas: The Bushman... and the Hottentot..."

The contributors to Bushman and Hottentot studies include many well known names. Among them are C. M. Doke and C. Meinhof. Among well known works was D. M. Beach's The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language (Cambridge, 1938). Recent publications by those new and old in the field include E. O. J. Westphal, L. F. Maingard, and O. Köhler. Joint articles have appeared by L. W. Lanham and D. P. Hallows.

One of the general statements of Dorothea Bleek on Bushman-Hottentot relationship was in Festschrift Meinhof (1927):

"A study of the languages spoken by these shows that they belong to one family with different branches. Perhaps we ought not use the term Bushman for the whole family, as it seems likely that the Hottentot dialects belong to it to some extent, and Hottentots being a pastoral people should not be called Bushmen... We must find a wider term to include both Bushmen and Hottentots."

Westphal has much to say about the various designations being used today. He draws a distinction, for instance, between Bushmen (the conventional term applied to 'Bushman' language speakers) and bush-men (i. e., groups which have a hunting and gathering economy). The Hottentots, on the other hand, can refer to either those peoples who speak 'Hottentot' languages (among whom there might be bush-men groups) or to a pastoral people. Westphal suggests that the terms be restricted to their ethnographic-geographic sense

and does not use them as linguistic terms.

But the terms 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentot' are only part of the problem (Westphal, 1962):

"Anthropologists, ethnologists, physiologists, serologists and others have been greatly vexed by the question of whether to describe the non-Bantu peoples of Southern Africa as KHOISAN or whether there are distinctions valid in each of the respective sciences between Bushmen, Hottentots, and any other groups there may be."

The term KHOISAN was popularized by I. Schapera (Khoisan Peoples, 1930): 'a convenient generic term for these peoples'. The term, according to Schapera, was introduced by L. Schultze in 1928, and suited Dorothea Bleek's appeal for a common term to apply to Bushman-Hottentot. It is a combination of three elements, Khwe- person, -sa- Bushman and the plural suffix -n or -na, ergo: Khoisan. In linguistics Dorothea Bleek used it in her classification scheme as a term to cover all her Bushman languages, including Naron, but excluding the Hottentot languages as she envisioned them. Greenberg on the other hand uses it to cover both Bushman and Hottentot.

The elder Bleek in his Comparative Grammar (1862) says of the Bushman and Hottentot languages: "The Bushman tongue is as yet too insufficiently known to allow us to assign it to its proper place in a general classification of languages; but it appears to be clear that its relationship to the Hottentot language is, at least, very remote. In fact, the probability is that it [Bushman] will be found to belong to what may be called the class of

Genderless Languages." In this respect he anticipated Westphal's criticism of Bleek's daughter a century later after Miss Bleek attempted to identify Bushman and Hottentot. This tendency was carried on by Greenberg, but recently the pendulum has swung again in the direction of a more conservative viewpoint in sifting through the fine points of classification.

O. Köhler (1963) notes two attempts at reclassification since Dorothea Bleek established her classification: "The first attempt was made by Joseph Greenberg in 1948. In his classification of the languages of Africa, he found that the click languages of the Khoisan area—in which Greenberg includes Sandawe and Hata [of Tanganyika] as well—constitute a distinct language family. . . . The second attempt was that of Dr. E. O. J. Westphal in the Handbook of African Languages in 1956."

The first attempt by Greenberg was a reformulation of Miss Bleek. An understanding of the contribution of Miss Bleek is essential. She sought to demonstrate (with grammatical and lexical material) the branches of the Bushman family and the relation of Naron to Hottentot. The branches she established for Khoisan are the Northern, the Southern and the Central. A summary of her position appears in Schapera's Khoisan People (1930): "The Bushmen. . . are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups [above] in

accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them."

Greenberg (1963) echoes this statement when he says: "The appearance of D. Bleek's comparative Bushman vocabularies showed that the language of the Khoisan area fell into three groups—a northern, central, and southern—and that Hottentot belonged to the central group, being particularly close to the language of the Naron Bushmen."

It is not strictly true, however, that Bleek included Hottentot in her Central branch. In concluding her remarks in *Festschrift Meinhof* she has this to say: "A short sketch such as this can only touch on the most salient likenesses and differences between the groups, but I hope it is sufficient to show that there really are three branches of Bushman languages [italics mine], and that one of them resembles the Hottentot languages."

In comparing Miss Bleek with Greenberg (below) one must keep in mind that his Central Khoisan does include the Hottentot languages whereas Miss Bleek's Central Bushman does not include Hottentot, though she seeks to demonstrate the relationship of Central Bushman and Hottentot through a language she considers as Bushman, viz. Naron.

The following summary of Bleek's scheme comes from *Bushman Dictionary* (1956). The numbers are changed, but still follow the book's presentation of the breakdown.

D. Bleek's Classification of Bushman Family

1.0 NORTHERN BRANCH

1.1a //k'au-//en((Auen), earlier //kau-// -e·n, ≠ au-//e·n, ≠ au-kwe)

1.1b nogau

1.2a !Kǃ !kuŋ (Kung)

1.2b hei //kum (Heikum)

1.2c A dialect near Ukuambi, Ovamboland, S. W. A.

1.2d A dialect near Ukualuthu, S. W. A.

1.3 !O!kuŋ

3.0 SOUTHERN BRANCH

3.1a /xam, earlier /Kham-ka-!k'e, /xam-ka-!k'e

3.1b //ŋ

3.2a ≠ khomani

3.2b //ku //e

3.2c //kxau

3.2d seroa

3.2e !gǃ!ne

3.3 batwa

3.4a /auni

3.4b Katia

3.4c kilhazi

3.5 Masarwa

3.6 /nu //en

3.7 nusan

2.0 CENTRAL BRANCH

2.1a hie or hietšware (masarwa), earlier Tati-masarwa

2.1b sehura

2.1c mohissa

2.2a naron (//aikwe)

2.2b tsaukwe

2.2c hukwe

2.3 hadza, hadzapi

A glance at Greenberg's list below and Bleek's above will show the similarities. The numbers of the groups agree with Greenberg's list and correspond to the numbers in his monograph, *The Languages of Africa* (1963), while the numbers of the individual languages are correlated with those of Bleek. Greenberg's Northern Branch of South African Khoisan corresponds to Bleek's language by language. Bleek's list of names for her Southern Group is longer than Greenberg's list in his Southern Branch of South African Khoisan, but it is not problematic. The major discrepancy is the inclusion by Greenberg of Hottentot (Nama and Korana) in the Central Branch of South African Khoisan. Again Bleek's list is somewhat longer for the Central Group, but often merely extinct dialects or geographical areas are represented by the names. Bleek also includes the Tanganyika 'click' language in the Central branch, whereas Greenberg gives both Hatsa and Sandawe coordinate status with his South African Khoisan:

Greenberg's Classification of the Khoisan Family

IV. KHOISAN

IV. A South African Khoisan

IV. A.1 Northern South African Khoisan

1.1a Auen

1.1b Nogau

1.2a !kung

1.2b Heikum

1.3 !O!kung

IV. A.3 Southern South African Khoisan

3.1a /xam
/xam-ka !ke

3.2a ≠ khomani

3.3 batwa

3.4a Auni

3.5 Masarwa

3.6 /nu//en

3.7 nusan
/iŋ/ke

IV. A.2 Central South African Khoisan

2.1a Hiechuare

2.2a naron
tsereke
NAMA HOTTENTOT
KORANA HOTTENTOT

IV. B. Sandawe

IV. C. Hatsa

The matching up of Westphal's classifications (1954; 1962-63) with Greenberg and Bleek is a more complicated matter. Westphal does not accept the tripartite division for Bushman itself, and does not accept the affinity of Hottentot and Bushman: "From a linguistic point of view the situation is clear: the various Bush languages . . . have nothing in common with each other. We cannot as yet set up any sound-shifts by means of which we can transcribe items in any one of the languages into items in any of the others. We cannot therefore state that they have anything but borrowings in common, and it follows that we cannot say that they have genetic relationship. . . . Our knowledge of the non-Bantu languages of Southern Africa is still very restricted and published material is so fragmentary that comparative work cannot be based on it with any confidence." (Westphal, 1963).

This echoes a position taken a decade earlier: "The similarity between HOTTENTOT and BUSHMAN is a superficial one, and goes no farther than the injective or 'click' sounds common to them both, and some common vocabulary items. Their phonologies and their grammars are so divergent that they cannot be treated under one heading. . . ." (Westphal, 1954).

Regarding the general criteria used, Westphal states that 1) "clicks as such have no positive classificatory value. We can speak of a Click family of languages as we can of a Fricative or Aspirated-Plosive family of languages"; 2) "The term 'Khoisan' is of no linguistic usefulness whatever";

and 3) "There is no 'Bushman Family' of languages. 'Bushman' . . . denotes a way of life, and not a linguistic term."

As for Greenberg, Westphal (1962) comments: "It is evident that Greenberg's Bushman material was inadequate and his inferences somewhat hasty. He employed the term 'click language family', 'Click languages', and the 'Khoisan group of languages'. Desmond Cole, interpreting Greenberg, speaks of them as 'the Click Family' or 'Macro-Khoisan'. Greenberg easily falls into the error of subsuming both bush-man and Bush-man languages into his Click Family. He uses such expressions as 'As in other Khoisan languages...', 'In addition, Hottentot shares with other Bushman languages...', '...this idiosyncratic pattern, which reappears generally in the other Khoisan languages...' and 'This is the universal Khoisan pattern...'"

The particular issue at point is the Central group of either Bleek or Greenberg. It is at this point that the relationship of Bushman and Hottentot is to be established or disavowed. It is at this point that Westphal (1963) is most emphatic: "No linguist has as yet... questioned Miss Dorothea Bleek's classification of Hottentot (i.e. Nama) with Bushman (amongst which she wrongly includes her chief language, Naron)... Joseph Greenberg... works on the same assumption that Nharo, i.e. Naron, which is erroneously described as a Bushman language, is related to Hottentot and specifically, Nama, and that therefore all Bushman languages are (genetically?) related to Nama. It so happens that all languages of Bleek's so-called Central Bushman Group spoken in the area between Andara..., Victoria Falls..., Lophephe...and

Ghanzi... are in fact Hottentot and are related to !ora, i.e. Korana. [a Hottentot language]. Nharo is one of these languages."

The specific criteria for classification is disputed. For example, Köhler sums up Greenberg's position: "The conclusion [that the click languages constitute a distinct language family] is based mainly on 'the distinctive method of root formation in which the clicks play a fundamental part', and on the affinity, i.e. the genetic relationship of Hottentot root morphemes with Central Khoisan and also with Northern and Southern Bushman... In morphology, Greenberg tried to identify formative elements of the Central Khoisan gender languages with formative elements both in and outside Central Khoisan."

Greenberg also says that the 'vast majority of root morphemes closely resemble that of other languages of the Central Khoisan Group—Naron, Hiechware, etc.' And that 'somewhere near half of the Hottentot vocabulary has obvious cognates in either Northern Bushman... Southern Bushman... or both.'

As regards the morphological comparisons of Greenberg, Köhler remarks that 'the results... [do] not seem as yet satisfactory, and much more research will have to be done before more clarity can be obtained...' Lexically, Köhler seems to have some agreement with Greenberg as to the high percentage of comparability, but also comments that 'one must admit that at the same time more root morphemes are found which do not appear to originate from one common stock [and] I am unable to confirm the high percentage (about 50%) of word affinity between Hottentot and Northern and/or Southern Bushman which Greenberg presumes.'

Köhler concludes that 'our present knowledge of Northern and Southern Bushman is too limited to give a satisfactory basis for word comparison.'

Westphal (1962) then speaks on the matter of classificational criteria: "Most of the 'criteria' listed by Greenberg cannot be accepted by anyone acquainted with the Bushman and Hottentot languages. The only criteria which could remain, although it is not clear what its significance will then be from a classificatory point of view, is his first, viz. that of the occurrence of the clicks. . . Possibly the clicks have as little significance as, say, the occurrence of aspirated ph/th/kh in Zulu, English and #hwa-Bushman. Possibly they signify that Bushman and Hottentot derive from languages once spoken to the exclusion of non-clicking languages in a part of the African continent. Possibly they signify that the click languages derive from a time when clicks were found in many more and perhaps in all languages. We do not know, and we give them very little weight in our classification."

His own criteria appears in his article on *Classifying Bushman and Hottentot Languages* (1962): "...the nominal suffixes are an unreliable criterion in the Hottentot languages and that besides lexical and grammatical criteria I have relied most heavily on the pronominal systems employed in the various languages. Hottentot languages have a potential or actual system of twenty-seven pre-verbal pronouns while Bushman languages have at most a system of nine to eleven pre-verbal pronouns."

Westphal's Linguistic Groupings for non-Bantu Languages of South Africa

- I. !xǀ
- II. #hua
- III. ŋ/huki
- IV. //xeqwi
- V. Hottentot
- V. 1 Khoi ("Classical")
- V. 2 San
- V. 3 Tshu-Khwe
- VI. Kwadi.

Whereas Bleek and Greenberg have only three major groups, Westphal has six, Westphal's first four groups correspond to Bleek's and Greenberg's Bushman: "In Southern Africa there are four unrelated Bush language-types. In some of these there are a few words which appear to be similar, but both the small number of these words and the fact that up to the present no method for comparing these similarities has revealed itself, suggest that there is no genetic relationship between them. Certainly no sound-shifts between one language type and another can be derived from the comparison of such superficially similar words, although it cannot be denied that our inability to compare Bush words could conceivably be dictated by the nature of our accepted linguistic procedures."

Westphal's other three 'bushman' language groups correspond to

Bleek's and Greenberg's Southern Group, e.g. Auni is in Westphal's #hua group (II.), #khomani is in his ɲ/huki group (III.), and batwa of Bleek and Greenberg is Westphal's //xeqwi (IV.).

Westphal denies any proof of affinity between Hottentot and the Bushman groups. He also divides the Hottentots into subgroups. By classical Hottentot it is clear that Westphal includes Nama and Korana of Greenberg's Central Group. This is what has been called Hottentot traditionally. But in addition Westphal includes as Hottentot two groups which are not consistently called Hottentot. The first of these is the San group: "Even though Beach noted that Hai-//'um was a Hottentot language, later writers have persisted in grouping it as a Bushman language, we know not on what information. There still is very little information on both Hai-//'um and Kedi [the two member language] , but had even this much been available, it would have been seen that these languages are derivative dialects of Nama and differ somewhat from classical or Cape Hottentot."

The second Hottentot Group Westphal (1962, 63) calls San—'adopted for linguistic purposes to denote those languages which are spoken by various peoples living what may be described as a 'bush-man' way of life.' He includes Hai-//'um and Kedi, but also says that 'possibly Nharo [Naron] . . . should be regarded as San-Hottentot-speaking.' But he groups Noron under a Tshu-Khwe sub-group.

The Tshu-Khwe group of Westphal includes the remainder of both Bleek's and Greenberg's Central Groups (1963): "Recently a very strongly

divergent group of Hottentot dialects has been added to the above recognized languages. I have named this the Tshu-Khwe Hottentot group... or, in Dorothea Bleek's classification, as 'Central Bushman'. Bleek's classification could not be upheld and was first ignored by Greenberg, who correctly groups Bleek's 'Central Bushman' with Nama and !ora..., although he regards all the Hottentot languages as the Central Group of his 'Click Language Family'... Authors writing after Greenberg persist in grouping Naron, G/wikhwe, Bukakhwe, Xŭkhwe, and other Tshu-Khwe-speaking peoples with Bush-speaking peoples, in the mistaken belief that linguists can support this."

The final group of Westphal's is the Kwadi group, recently added as a result of researches by António de Almeida and analyzed, jointly with Westphal in 1956: "Although this language employs clicks, it differs from any of the others and from Bantu in its vocabulary, in the nominal suffix system which is, however, similar in type to Hottentot, in grammar generally, and, particularly, in its formation of verbo-nominals (infinitives) with an infix -la-. Together with //xegwi and adjacent Bantu languages, and altogether with Hadza and other East African Languages, it employs interesting lateral and velar fricative and affricate sounds. In Angola and S.W.A [Southwest Africa] these sounds do not occur in any other Bantu or Hottentot languages."

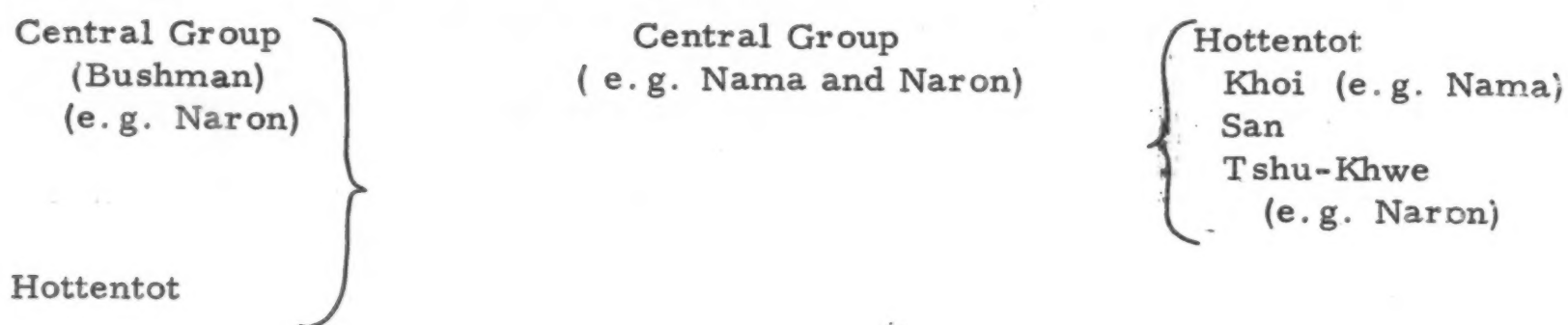
Sandawe and Hadsa are both isolated click languages spoken in East Africa in Tanganyika. It seems likely from all sources that they are genetically related to the South African 'Khoisan' Languages. Westphal (1954) firmly links Sandawe with his Hottentot group, and tentatively (questionably,

the relationship is more remote) links Hadza with 'Bushman'. In both cases they are set up as coordinate members of a larger unit: Sandawe-Hottentot. Concerning these languages Greenberg (1963) has this to say: "[Sandawe] has three of the four clicks which occur in the Central and Northern Khoisan languages of South Africa [Westphal's Hottentot and !xǃ, respectively]. Sandawe displays enough morphological and lexical resemblance to the South African Khoisan languages [Westphal's #hua, ɲ/huki, and //xeqwe] for its relationship to be accepted. Because of the presence of grammatical gender, the Sandawe language has usually been compared with Hottentot. However, its relationship to the South African Khoisan languages is obviously a remote one...the same gender affixes [occur] in Hatsa...remoter in other respects from both Khoisan and Sandawe."

Because of the remoteness of the relationship, if it can definitely be established, Greenberg sets up both Sandawe and Hadza as independent, coordinate, one-member groups to a South African Khoisan (including Northern, Southern and Central Groups).

The following chart displays the differences of the three classification systems thus far proposed and discussed for the South African languages.

Bleek	Greenberg	Westphal
Northern Group (Bushman)	Northern Group (S. A. K. *)	!xǃ
Southern Group (Bushman)	Southern Group	{ #hua ɲ/huki //xeqwe



These differences can be briefly summarized: 1) there is a Northern Group upon which there is universal agreement (called by Westphal !xǔ), 2) the other 'Bushman' languages are separated by Westphal into three 'unrelated' groups (#hua, ɲ/huki and //xeqwe) which are equivalent to Bleek's and Greenberg's Southern Group, the members of which they regard as genetically related.

The Central Group is the crucial point for comparative work. To Bleek the Central Group was simply Bushman languages, one member of which (Naron) showed striking similarities with Hottentot (which is an independent group). Greenberg placed Hottentot into his Central Group and made Hottentot just one more Bushman group. Westphal extracts Bleek's Central Group from Bushman and unites it with the other Hottentot languages (just the opposite of Greenberg). Nevertheless, both Greenberg and Westphal agree that there is such a related group whether it is called 'Central Khoisan' or, simply, 'Hottentot'.

The discussions of two other contributors must be mentioned, O. Köhler and L. F. Maingard. The latter has done a good deal of research in the Central group (called by him the 'Central Kalahari Linguistic Group': "No doubt can be left that hietǃ ware, naron and Korana are closely related to each other... the common features belonging to [these languages] are sufficient

to warrant the conclusion that at some point in their history they must have formed a single ancestral language... The convincing similarities prove close relationship, but the divergent features make it clear that hietware and naron cannot be described as modern Hottentot. To do so, would be like saying that French is Italian, both of which, as every comparatist knows, are descended from a protolinguistic form... Latin. The situation is the same as regards hietware, naron and Korana." O. Köhler (1963) in discussing the 'Central Khoisan Language Group' notes the following: "This is the position in the present stage of comparative Khoisan linguistics. It is true that there is a considerable difference in morphology between the Central gender language Group and Northern and Southern Bushman, and this fact must not be overlooked. One must also not minimize the differences in phonemic structure. However, deep the cleavage between the gender language group and Northern and Southern Bushman may be, it will offer a better working basis for further research if we look upon them as originating from one common, though very remote, stock. Further research will not throw new light on the problem if we do not devote ourselves to the thorough study of single click languages. This is not only true of !Xǃ and especially the few Southern Bushman languages surviving but also for Nama, and especially Korana, whose speakers are vanishing in our generation."

The larger affinities of 'Khoisan' are either unknown or unsubstantiated. The exact affiliations within the phyla, if there are such, are open to question, much less the question of its external affinities. In this respect it

is unlike Kwa and Cushitic, which are also controversial as to the internal relations, but which are certainly grouped in Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic, respectively. A theory which previously has had wide support as a possible source of Hottentot, is that of Hamitic affiliations. Greenberg (1963) summarizes and dismisses the theory: "With regard to the Hottentots... Meinhof, renewing an earlier suggestion of Lepsius, sought to prove the Hottentot was 'Hamitic.' This particular demonstration of Meinhof has probably evoked fewer favorable reactions than any other of his proposed extensions of 'Hamitic' in Negro Africa; few if any, would today maintain Meinhof's position with reference to Hottentot in its pristine form. In vocabulary, Hottentot shows virtually no resemblance to Hamito-Semitic... It remains to consider the evidence from morphology, in which many have seen indications of 'Hamitic' influence. The verb root is, in general, unchangeable both in Hottentot and in the languages of the Bushman, in contrast with the internal inflection of Hamito-Semitic. None of the characteristic conjugational forms of these languages appears in the Hottentot verb. Tense and other sense modifications are produced by particles, Hottentot shows general agreement with those of the Bushman languages. The only possible point of resemblance with Hamito-Semitic is the existence of a -si causative suffix. This does not point to Hamito-Semitic any more than to the Niger-Congo languages (Mossi, Bantu, and others have an -s causative) or the Fur languages of Darfur which likewise have an s causative. Such derivational affixes in the verb are a widespread African feature that may indicate more remote relationships among certain African linguistic

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stocks. It cannot be used therefore, as an argument for specifically Hamito-Semitic connections."

The existence of enclaves of Hottentot peoples in various parts of South Africa testifies to the wide distribution of Hottentot languages prior to European and Bantu intrusion. They must have lived up to the borders of present Natal, Bethanie and Blomfontein; in Kimberley and along the Orange River near Kuruman; as well as in southern South Africa and much of South West Africa; the whole of northern Bechuanaland up to the Victoria Falls in the northeast and the Okavango Delta in the northwest (Westphal, 1962).

At present the Bushman and Hottentot languages are spoken in the Union of South Africa, South West Africa, Angola, Barotseland, Caprivi, Southern Rhodesia and the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and in two small areas in Tanganyika.

4.1. The extant 'Bushman' languages are divided by Westphal into four groups. Each group includes one language, with associated dialects. Westphal's four groups correspond to Bleek's and Greenberg's Northern and Southern Groups. These are universally recognized as being Bushman languages. Westphal's first group, !Xũ is Bleek's and Greenberg's Northern Group. Westphal's other three groups: #hua, ɲ/huki, and //xeqwi are lumped by Bleek and Greenberg in a Southern Group.

The total number of Bushmen was recently discovered (Tobias, 1956) to be far in excess of previous estimates—in fact exceeding 50,000. In the Tobias study, however, the term Bushman was used in such a manner as to

include some groups which Westphal would consider as 'Hottentot', e.g. Naron. These are, however, not too numerous (Naron, 3,000) and the figure is approximately correct for Bushman in Westphal's sense. The Bushmen had long been considered a vanishing race, described as 'almost extinct' or as 'a few scattered groups', etc. Schapera in Khoisan Peoples (1930) placed the minimum figure at 7,000 to 7,500, a figure still used, though Schapera subsequently adjusted his figure in 1939 to 30,000. The following is a breakdown, by country, of the actual total of 55,531:

Bechuanaland Protectorate.	31,000
South West Africa.	20,311
Angola.	4,000
Northern Rhodesia.	200
Union of South Africa.	20

Tobias concluded: "The fact that over 50,000 Bushmen are alive today, despite the centuries of hostility and extermination to which they have been subjected at the hands of Europeans, Hottentots, and Bantu, testifies eloquently to the great numbers which must formerly have inhabited the subcontinent."

Bushmen languages are spoken in southeastern Angola near the border of South West Africa where it is spoken in the northeast; in most of Bechuanaland (although sparse in extreme southeast and northeast); and in parts of Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

The Northern Group of Bushmen languages of Bleek and Greenberg

is equivalent to Westphal's !Xǔ (or Bush-A).

!Xǔ (!Kung, Kung, !kun, !Hǔ) is spoken by 6,500 to 11,000 people in northwestern South West Africa and along the western boundaries of Bechuanaland and much of southeastern Angola. There are two dialect areas (a) South West Africa and Bechuanaland:

Kung proper, with 4,044 speakers along the middle and upper river bed (or Omuramba Omatako) north of the Ojituo Reserve;

Zhu/oase (Ssu Gnassi, Ssu Ghassi, Ssu Gnussi), 500, around !Gautsha Pan, with the northern limit north of Chadum south of Karakuwisa, and south to /kai/kai;

Auen (/au//en, //aukwe, #aukwe, //au//en, //k'au//en, Kaukau, Koko), about 4,890, spoken in Ghansi area north to G/am Pan in South West Africa and G!onuka Pan in Bechuanaland, south as far as Rietfontein and Ghansi, east to Ghansiveld; and the second dialect area, (b) in southeastern Angola:

!O! Kung (!O!Kun), there is no census figure available, but estimates indicate from 1,000 to 5,000 speakers.

The Human Area Relations File lists three Kung Bushman tribes: the Agau, Nogau, and #Kungau, in addition to the Auen. A few villages of the Heikum (Hei||kum, Hei||om Hei||'um), whose number of speakers is unknown, may speak a Northern Bushman dialect or language, but most Heikum speak a language similar to Nama.

The Human Relation Area File include as Heikum "various groups of Bushmen adjacent to or interspersed among the Ambo, and much mixed with and

acculturated to the latter."

The Southern Group of Bushman languages of Bleek and Greenberg is divided by Westphal into three languages which like !Xǃ, represent language families in themselves. They are #hua (or Bush-B), ɲ/huki (or Bush-C), and //xeqwi (or Bush-D).

1) #hua (Magong, Gxon !xo, !xon), with not more than 500 speakers, in Southern Kalahari and Bechuanaland and South West Africa.

#hua proper is spoken in Bechuanaland, and the number of speakers is unknown; the ɲ/amani dialect, perhaps Bleek's /auni (Auni, /auo) and 'Kakia' (Kilhazi, a dialect?) which is spoken on the lower Nossop river in Gemsbok National Park in South Africa, South of Aminuis Reserve in South-West Africa, around Kakia (Masarwa) in Bechuanaland.

#Eikusi (Xatia, Khatlia, Kattea, Vaalpens), possibly a dialect of /auni.

!kǃ (!kǃ, koon), of Nausanabitz, spoken of by Maingard and Bleek;

/nu//en (Nusan, nu-san, /nu-//e:n, ɲ/usan, Noosan, n/u//ǃin, //u//en), has about 4,890 speakers, and is located in the Southern part of Ghanzi area, southwest of Okwa, and in South-West Africa near the Bechuanaland border. It is spoken of by Bleek and is probably also identified with this group.

2) ɲ/huki, with no more than 10 speakers, was the only dialect of this group found by Westphal in the Cape region, including Gemsbok Park and farming areas South of the park; it is possibly part of a larger group which included:

#k homani (//kxau, ku//e, seroa, !gǃ/ne, dialects?)

//n-!ke (ŋ// -#e, //Ng!ke, //ŋ), said to be spoken by a few old people;
/xam (/xam-ka !ka, /kam-ka !ka), Bleek said that many had passed away,
but that a few remained near Prieska and Kenhard.

3)//xegwi (Batwa, abathwa, Baroa [terms used for other tribes as well] ; tloue, tloutle, kloukle, kxloukxle, amaNkgqwigqwi, amaNkqeshe, ama-Bus mana, gi//kxi.gwi, ki//kx.gwi), the number of speakers is unknown, but the language is spoken at Lake Chrissie, in the district of Ermelo, in Eastern Transvaal. It is surrounded by Nguni Bantu languages. All the speakers seem to know both Swazi-Zulu and have a knowledge of Africaans. They are not inclined to speaking their language around Swazi or Europeans, and some refuse to use Africaans.

Bleek considered the Nama and Korana to be Hottentot (and there is general agreement on these), but she considered the 'Central Group' in her classification to be 'Bushmen'. Greenberg places Nama and Korana with the rest of Bleek's Central Group of Bushman in his Central Khoisan. Westphal considers Bleek's entire Central Group, as well as Nama and Korana (i. e. Greenberg's Central Khoisan) as Hottentot. Bleek based her classification on both physical and cultural criteria as well as on what she considered to be evidence of closer linguistic affinities, while Westphal relied solely on his linguistic evidence.

Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots are generally regarded as a disappearing group. Schapera (1930) estimated that there were only 56,000, while Westphal (1962) set the figure at 87,000 to 98,000. At the appearance

of the Europeans there were also many small, loosely organized, groups on the Cape who must have numbered perhaps 45,000 to 50,000. The Cape Hottentots have since virtually disappeared. Their extinction—as a people and as a language — was hastened by war, diseases, and , most effectively, by miscengenation between them, white settlers, and East Indian slaves. Some groups, such as the Kora (modern Korana the probable descendents) treked inland to escape extermination in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Westphal is the only source who gives definite sub-groupings for the Hottentot languages. His Khoi (or "classical") and San correspond to Bleek's Hottentot, and his Tshu-khwe corresponds to Bleek's Central Bushman. Greenberg's Central Khoisan corresponds to Westphal's Hottentot.

The Khoi subgroup has two or three languages as extant members:

1)The formerly widespread Namaqua group includes the:

Nama (Naman, Namakwa, Namaqua) — 25,000 according to Westphal, spoken in South West Africa as far north as Grootfontein and Zesfontein in the Kaoko, and as far south as Namaqualand in the Cape Province of South Africa; the Bergdama tribe (Dama, Damara, Klipkaffern).

The Human Relations Area Files provides the following information:

"The Nama includes the following tribes: Gei//khauan, !gami #nun, //haboben, !khara Gei Khoi, //khau /goan, // oGein, #aunin or !naranin, all of whom constitute the Great Namaqua, and also the Little Namaqua tribes. The Namib Bushmen include the following tribes: /geinin, //obanen, /koma, #ganin, /huinin. They all speak the Nama Hottentot language.

The Bergdama (Haukoin, Mountain Damara) live scattered among the Herero (and some among the Nama Hottentot), their principal centers being in the Auas and Erongo Mts., the Otjari highlands, and the Brandbergs. They number about 25,000 (29,000 in 1946), and are considerably admixed with Nama and Herero blood and strongly acculturated to them. They speak Nama Hottentot exclusively, having no dialect of their own. They are clearly the original inhabitants of the country, having been killed off, enslaved, and persecuted by the Hottentot and the incoming Herero. Their main divisions are: /gowanin (in dunes between Rehoboth and Hoachanas): Tsoa-xon-daman (lower valley of Swakop R). !ól-gan (Erongo Mts.), /omen (on Omuramba-omatako R to the Waterberg), Aro-daman (Waterberg region). Auimin (near Okanjande), Oumin (E of Waterberg), /geoi-daman (Outjo district), Aobe-//ain (near Omaruru), Dauna-daman (Brandberg Mts. N of Swakop mouth). Ao-guwun (No of Brandberg in Kaokoveld north to heights of Zesfontein)."

2) Korana (!Ora, !kora, koran, kora, koraqua) is spoken by fewer than 50 people in southeastern Bechuanaland, in Griqualand west, around Kimberley.

3) Griqua (Grikwa, Xrikwa, Xirikwa) is spoken by a few isolated individuals according to Westphal, who notes that 'there is no adequate documentation. . .'; it probably formed, with Korana, 'a more widespread Cape Hottentot.' The Human Relations Area File lists the following Cape Hottentot tribes, including the East Hottentot (all the languages of these two groups are extinct with the exception of Korana and, possibly Griqua): "The East Hottentot include

the Damaqua, Gonaqua, and Inqua tribes; the Cape Hottentot the Goringhaiqua (Goringhaikona), Kora (Gorachouqua, later the Korana), Kochoqua, Little Grigriqua (Chariguriqua), Great Grigriqua, Chainoqua, Hessequa, Hancumqua Attaqua, and Outeniqua."

The San subgroup is a single language which is said by Westphal, to be a "derivative dialect" of Nama, but differing somewhat from Cape Hottentot and "classical" Hottentot. There are two dialects:

Hai-//um (Heikum?), about 3,000 to 5,000 speakers in South West Africa between Karakuwisa and Grootfontein and in other areas between the Okavango River territory and Etosha. Some have migrated north - westward to Otjinjau in Angola;

Kedi, 500-1,000 speakers in Angola between Mupa and Ovamboland and possibly in areas east of Ovambolan in South West Africa.

The affiliation of the Hottentot speech in the Kuruman Valley and Gemshok Game Park (South Africa) has not been determined, but is likely to be in this group.

The Tshu-khwe group corresponds to Bleek's 'Central Bushman Group', and has been referred to as Seware (MaSarwa), numbering from 18,000 to 26,000 people, with the following breakdown:

Bamangowato territories.	9,000-15,000
Ngamiland.	3,000
Crown Lands.	200
Ghanzi district.	3,000

Central Kalahari Game Reserve. 3,000-5,000

The distribution of the groups is in southeast Angola, generally in the area between Andara (South West Africa), Victoria Falls, Lophephe (Bechuanaland), and Ghanzi.

Authors continue to group the languages of these groups (e.g. Naron, G/wikhwe, Xǔkhwe, etc.) as Bush-speaking peoples. The speakers refer to themselves by names ending in -khwe or -(n)tshori: shuakhwe the Shua people; the g//orokhwe the G//oro people; G//abake(n)tshorni the G//abake people, etc.

Westphal has divided the Tshu-khwe group into six subgroups and a number of residue languages.

The Northwest Subgroup consists of four languages, and perhaps groups east of Kwand River in Barotseland should be included (but no names are given):

1) Xǔ (Mbara Kwengo, Kwengo, Vakwengo, Zama, Vazama, Schekere, Hukwe, Hukwe Bushman, Xǔ khwe, Glandā-khwe), spoken by not more than 2,000 people in South West Africa and 5,000-10,000 in Angola, the distribution being in southeast Angola and Caprivi.

2) Buka (Bukakhwe, River Bushman), by an unknown number of people on the Khwai River and Okavango Swamps.

3) The Gumahi, whose number of speakers is also unknown, are said to live around the western side of the Okavango Swamps.

4) The Handá (Handá-dam the Handa tongue; Handákhwe-dam

(the tongue of the Handa people) — unknown number of people — live on the Malabi plains in Crown lands east of Ngamiland. Their speech is said by Westphal to resemble Buka.

The Northcentral Subgroup consists of three languages. And some smaller groups are said to live in this area, e.g. the

/ais

N/oo.

Tsh'iti.

1) Shua (Tshumakwe, Shuak(h)we), is spoken by 400 people on the Shua River at Nata, throughout Crown lands up to Kazangula and perhaps eastern Caprivi; and north of the Makarikari between Odiakoe and Nata, and around Nata on the Nata River north of the Makarikari. It is associated with the /oree(khwe), /hais, N/oo (khwe), tsh'iti, and // 'aiye, as well as the Dansin and G//oro.

2) Demisa (Madenassa, Madanisi, Danisin, Madinnisane), c. 100, spoken around Kanyu in Bechuanaland between Makarikari and Ngami.

3) G//oro (G//orokhwe), the number of speakers is unknown, the language is spoken by the people of the Gwetta Pan and adjoining areas of the northern part of western Makarikari Pan.

The Westcentral Subgroup has a single member, N/hai (N/hai-(n)tse'e), spoken by an unknown number of people in the southwest dry areas of Ngamiland, possibly influenced by !Xŭ-Bushman, and associated with the Southwestern group.

The Southwestern Subgroup consists of three languages:

1) Nharo (Naron, //aikwe, /aikwe, //ai//eĩ, //ai//en, //aisan, Nhauru,

Naro), c. 3,000 spoken in the Ghanzi district of Bechuanaland and Kalkfontein in South West African border, and including:

Tsaukwe;

Tsonokwe;

#amkwe;

!giṅkwe.

In the Central Kalahari Game Reserve two other languages are spoken, but their affinities are not too certain.

2) G/wi (G/wi (khwe));

3) G//ana (G//ana (khwe)).

The Central Subgroup is represented by a single language, ǀeṭi (Tete, ǀtletle, ǀeṭikhwe), spoken by an uncertain number of people along the Botletle or ǀeṭi River. This language appears to be influenced a great deal by Nambɿya, the Bantu language of the area. No other dialects of this group have been recognized. It is perhaps associated with the tsh'erekhwe; or

K'erekhwe, said to live west of them.

The Northeastern Subgroup consists of six languages, and a 'dialect' in the Wankie district of Southern Rhodesia.

1) Hiotshuwau (Tshuwau), c. 9,587, spoken east of the Makarikari between Mosetsi and Francistown.

2) Haitshuari, number of speakers unknown, spoken north of Nata on the Southern Rhodesia-Bechuanaland border.

3) G//abake (Hiechware, Hio-tʃware, G//abake (n)tshori, Masarwa,

Tati), have an unknown number of speakers. According to the Human Relations Area Files, "The Hiechware inhabit Bechuanaland, the Kalahari Desert, and adjacent Southern Rhodesia. They live mainly among the Tswana."

4) Kossee (kossee (n) tshori), with an unknown number of speakers, spoken on the eastern side of Makarikari.

5) Kwee (kwe, kwe (e)-tshori), with an unknown number of speakers, is spoken by the people of the Serowe area and in particular the Metsimasweu where they had their main residence.

6) Ganáde (no information available).

There are also a number of language names and /or localities, which are not identified with a particular subgroup.

Mahura

Mohissa

Tshuma

Korokwa

Dzhika

Badza

G//am

Masasi

G//aa (khwe)

In addition to the four Bushman languages, and the Hottentot groups, an independent group is given by Westphal, called Kwadi (Cuepe, Cuanhoca, Curoca), for a few speakers in the Mossamedes area in South-western Angola on the Curoca River. The Human Relations Area File lists

a 'Bushman' group with an alternate name, Curoca, which may be the same.

This following is the information given:

"The Koroca (Bakoroka, Makoroko, Mucoroca) are a tribe of about 15,000 speaking a Khoisan (Lang and Tastevin say Hottentot) language. Though usually classed as Bushmen, Lang and Tastevin say they are related rather to the Bergdama (q. v.). They fall into three groups, as follows:

Luheka (Valuheke)—on the seacoast.

Zorotua (Vasorontu)—on the edge of the Koroca desert.

Kwise (Bakise, Bacuisso, Bakuise, Bakwisso, Moquisse, Kwisso, Vakuisse, Moquise)—on the W slopes of the Chela Mountains.

Tentatively included with them, though perhaps more probably a Bantu tribe, are the Kwando (Bakwanda, Bakuando, Bakwando, Kuando)."

The two click languages spoken in East Africa (Tanganyika) are Hadza and Sandawe.

1) Hadza (Hatsa, Hadzapi, Kindiga, Kangeju, Tindiga, Wakingdiga, Watindega), numbering 500 to 600, is spoken between Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean in Kondoa and Merilu districts. It is surrounded by Bantu languages. They are kindred to the 100 or so Bali, of S E Sukuma land. Their affiliation with the South African click languages is generally accepted, but regarded as remote. Westphal groups Bali tentatively with Bushman, but Greenberg makes them an independent group parallel with the Bushman groups and Hottentot, in his Northern, Southern and Central Groups of South African Khoisan.

2) Sandawe (Sandaui, Sandawi, Wassandaui) had 23,366 speakers in 1948 in Kondoa district between the Bubu and Mponde Rivers. Westphal regards Sandawe as having definite affinities to Hottentot. Greenberg treats Sandawe as coordinate with Hadza and his Northern, Southern and Central South African Khoisan groups.

AFRO-ASIATIC PHYLUM

5.0. Scholars generally agree that the far-flung languages of the Semitic family are related in phylum linguistics to Egyptian (and its modern daughter language, Coptic), on the one hand, and on the other hand both to the Berber languages (spoken all the way across northern Africa from the Canary Islands--off the southwest coast of Morocco--to the Western Desert of Egypt), the Cushitic languages (spoken from Somalia to the Mediterranean) and the Chadic language (spoken in the Lake Chad area, except for Hausa, which is spoken over wide areas of West Africa). These constitute the Afro-Asiatic phylum, formerly labelled Hamito-Semitic, which not only includes three groups of languages that are certainly classifiable as coordinate language families (and, indeed, two have been abundantly attested to be so by the comparative method)--Semitic and Egyptian-Coptic--but also includes two groups of languages which are less certainly classifiable as coordinate language families--Cushitic and Chadic.

Besides the agreed upon inclusion of five language families in the Afro-Asiatic phylum, there are controversial proposals for expanding this phylum into a macro-phylum by the further inclusion of language families centering in Africa on the one hand (3, above), and centering in Europe, on the other hand. We are indebted to our consultant on Semitics, Henry A. Fischel, for perspective reflected in our treatment of the Semitic family, below (5.5), and in our discussion of the question of whether or not the Indo-European family is related to the Semitic family in phylum linguistics.

Those who are inclined to favor this possibility — as was Edward Sapir, for example — draw attention to the fact that substitution of vowels (ablaut) to mark tense or derivation (as sing, sang, has sung, song in English) or aspect or mode — or for that matter, ablaut to mark any grammatical category — is so rare in the languages of the world that when it occurs in two language families in adjacent areas, as Indo-European and Semitic languages are today (or in one interspersed area, as in the time when Hittite was still spoken), the two neighboring or intermingled language families may be regarded as having had a common origin. In the general case of languages in contact, process (such as ablaut) is less likely to be borrowed than structural items (such as affixes). But Sapir would also cite other common features, in structure and dictionary. Those who are inclined to disfavor the interpretation that the traces of similarity between Indo-European and Semitic support ultimate genetic relationship, as Henry A. Fischel, nevertheless, cite the very same kinds of similarity, but interpret them to be either a consequence of diffusion in areal linguistics, or to be actually different, though masked behind a weak typology which makes important differences appear similar:

(a) Ablaut in Semitic marks aspect and mode in verbal forms, where Indo-European marks tense.

(b) Many IE loans in Semitic; but Modern Standard Hebrew /šeš/ six and /šéva/ seven, for example, although similar to IE forms may be regarded as coincidentally so.

(c) Structural influence of IE on Semitic may well include the diversi-

fication of the tense system; and the use of devices equivalent to the present form of the IE verb to be (in Hebrew, at least).

CUSHITIC

5.1. It is possible to say where the Cushitic languages are spoken, but not how many languages are spoken there; what general structural patterns these Cushitic languages exhibit, but not how these linguistic structures are subrelated to each other. It is known that the so-called Cushitic languages are related to each other, but it is not known whether the relationship is close enough to permit the systematic reconstruction of all Cushitic languages into one parental language (implying that Cushitic would turn out to be a close-knit language family), or whether groups of languages in the North Cushitic, Central Cushitic, East Cushitic, West Cushitic, and South Cushitic zones would need to be individually reconstructed first as separate language families, and then subsequently related to each other in a Cushitic phylum. About eighty language names are well attested for Cushitic, but which of these represent languages separated by communication barriers, and which are partially intelligible dialects is less well attested.

Cushitic languages are spoken on the African side of the Red Sea in French Somaliland and in what was formerly the Italian colony of Eritrea (but is now an autonomous state federated with Ethiopia), and in various parts of Ethiopia proper; and also south of the Gulf of Aden in Somali; and in the parts of the Sudan and Kenya near Ethiopia, and in Tanganyika.

The general structure of the relatively unknown Cushitic languages is generally said to be not unlike the general structure of the better known Semitic languages with which they are related in a phylum linguistic sense. Thus, the verbal system shows elaborate inflections (paradigms) both in Semitic and Cushitic. Like Semitic, Cushitic distinguishes sex gender—especially by

alternants of the suffix /-at/ which sometimes serves to classify what is feminine, sometimes what is abstract. Both in Semitic and Cushitic, one paradigmatic set marks independent pronouns, while another (marking possessive pronouns) is suffixed.

The term 'zone'—a kind of British temporizing between language family 'branch' of the Indo-European type and areal grouping—is adopted for center heads, below, to distinguish between languages grouped in

Northern Zone

Central Zone

Eastern Zone

Western Zone

Southern Zone.

In perspective, this follows G. W. B. Huntingford, *The 'Nilo-Hamitic' Languages*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12. 200-22 (1956); but in detail, Greenberg. Spellings from M. M. Moreno, *Manuale di Sidamo* (Milano, 1940) have been regularized, and smaller groupings from Moreno and others have been neglected—e.g. sub-grouping the Central or Aagaw zone into its areal parts; or the Eastern zone into Lower Cushitic, 'lingue varie', and Buri-Sidamo; or the Western zone into four subzones (Yamna, Ometo, Gimira, Gongga). Huntingford (op.cit.) lists as sub-groups of Southwestern Cushitic:

1. Sidama: Alaba, Darasa, Hadya, Kambata, Sidamo, Tambaro.
- 2: Gofa, Kuera, Kullo, Wolamo, Zala.
- 3: Basketo, Chara, Zaysse.
- 4: Kafa.
- 5: Janjero.

Huntingford's groups correspond to Moreno's as follows:

Huntingford:

Sidama

2

3

4

5

Moreno:

Burji-Sidamo (Eastern Branch)

Ometo, Northern

Ometo, Western

Gonga

Yamna

NORTHERN ZONE

Beja (Bedja, Begia, Bedawiye, Bedawie, Bedauye) is the name of the group of languages forming the Northern Zone of Cushitic. Some 190,000 people belonging to various tribal groups speak Beja languages. Some of the societies are reported to be bilingual in Beja and in Tigre, an Ethiopic (Semitic) language spoken in the same region. Most of the Beja people are pastoralists, and wander across the border from eastern Eritrea into the Sudan and back in search of grazing land for their camels, cattle, sheep, and goats. It is reported that most Beja speakers are Moslem.

(1) Beni-Amer is cited by some authorities as a name for a Beja language, though which Beja language is not specified. The Beni-Amer occupy territory in eastern Eritrea and the western Sudan; they account for the majority of the 190,000 Beja speaking peoples.

(2) Bisharin is another name said by some to refer to a Beja language or dialect and by others to a tribe. The group is reported to number about 15,000 and to extend from northern Eritrea northward into the Sudan with four enclaves containing the majority of the people.

(3) Hadendoa (Hadendowa, Hadendiwa) is thought by some investigators to be the name of a people who speak a Beja language. Approximately 30,000 Hadendoa people live in the Kassala Province of the Sudan near the town of Sinkat.

(4) Halenga may be the name of a language or of a Beja dialect. The Halenga inhabit territory in the Kassala Province of the Sudan. No estimate of their number has been reported.

Greenberg gives Beja as the only member of his Northern Cushitic. Presumably he considers the items listed above as dialects of one language.

CENTRAL ZONE

Agaw (Agao, Agau) is usually cited as the name of the entire Central Zone of Cushitic. There is no estimate of the total number of speakers of the various Agaw languages. The languages occur in central Eritrea and northern Ethiopia, as far southward as the region of the Blue Nile and Awash Rivers.

(1) Awiya is reported to be a Central Cushitic language occurring south of Gojam in Ethiopia.

(2) Bogos (known also as Bilin, Bilen, Belein, or Bilen; self-designation reported as [belin]) is located in Eritrea near the town of Keren. While there has been no estimated number of speakers reported, the literature records that one Gospel has been published in the language, suggesting that this was stimulated by the existence of many potential readers.

(3) Damot (Damotanya) is considered to be either the name of a dialect of Awiya or of an administrative district in Ethiopia. The term is also thought to be a separate language name. All that is known about Damot is that it is spoken in northern Ethiopia.

(4) Kamir (Khamir, Chamir) is spoken in central Eritrea, in and near the town of Keren by two groups of people known as the Kamir and the Khamta. The latter are said by some to speak a language of their own. No estimate of the number of speakers has been published in this century.

(5) Kayla (Kailinya, Kaila) is thought to be either a distinct language or that dialect of Quara spoken by the Falasha, the 'Black Jews' of Ethiopia. There are about 30,000 speakers.

(6) Kemant (Qemant, Chemant, Kamāntnay, which is also a place name; also known as Dembia, Dāmbyā, also a place name) is spoken in Ethiopia along the northern shores of Lake T'ana. Some scholars believe this speech is a dialect of Quara. No estimate of the number of speakers is reported in the literature.

(7) Khamta is spoken in northern Ethiopia. Whether it is a language or a dialect of Kamir is not clear. There is no report of an estimated number of speakers.

(8) Quara (Qwara, Kwara, Quarinya, Quarasa, Koura) is a language name or cover term for a number of dialects spoken in north central Ethiopia. The literature does not include the number of speakers. The following are sometimes alleged to be dialects of Quara: Awiya, Kayla, Kemant; each of these is considered a language by at least one scholar.

EASTERN ZONE

(1) Afar (Adal, Danakil, Dankali, Dangali, T'elt'al, Saho-Afar) is a language spoken in Eritrea, Ethiopia, French Somaliland, along the coastal plain between the mountains and the Red Sea, by 28,000 speakers. The Afar are nomads who retire to foothills during the hot season.

(2) Alaba is a language spoken in Ethiopia, near the town of Kolito (Colito) by 40,000 speakers.

(3) Burji (Amaro and Bambala as tribal names) is a language, or group of languages, spoken in Ethiopia, near Lake Ciomo.

(4) Darasa is a language spoken in southwestern Ethiopia.

- (5) Dawro (Dawaro, Dauaro) is a southwestern Ethiopia language.
- (6) Dumé is listed as a language by Moreno.
- (7) Galla is a language or group of languages spoken throughout Ethiopia by more than two and a third million speakers. Known dialects (perhaps tribe or place names) are Arussi, Bararetta, Boran (Borana), Ittu, Macha, Shoa, Tulama, Wardai (Uardai).
- (8) Gardulla is cited as a separate language, but also as the name of people who speak Reshiat in Ethiopia, north of Lake Stephanie.
- (9) Geleba is a language in Ethiopia, north of Lake Rudolph. There are over ten thousand speakers if the Geleba (Gallaba, Gelleb, Gelubba), Marille (Merille, Marle), Reshiat (Reshaiat, Rechiat, Rachiat), and Dathanaic (Dathanic, Dasanek) are included.
- (10) Gidole (Ghidole) is listed both as a separate language and as the name of a people who speak Reshiat in Ethiopia, north of Lake Stephanie.
- (11) Gowaze is also either a separate language or a Reshiat-speaking group in Ethiopia, near Lake Ciamo.
- (12) Hadya (self-designation Gudella, Gudiela) is spoken in southwestern Ethiopia, between the Omo and Billate Rivers.
- (13) Jamjam.
- (14) Kambata (Kambatta, Tambaro) is either a language or dialect cluster in southwestern Ethiopia.
- (15) Konso is a language or a group of languages including Reshiat, Pambala (Burji), Geleba, Marille, in Ethiopia, near Lake Ciamo.
- (16) Marille is either a separate language or a dialect of Geleba.
- (17) Reshiat (Arbore) is either a separate language or a dialect of Geleba.
- (18) Saho is a self-designation (Sao, Shiho, Shoho, Choho, Irob, also

a place name) or a separate language or dialect of Saho-Afar. Saho is spoken in Eritrea, in Divisions of Masawa and Akke Guzai, and in Ethiopia, in districts of Irob, Serukso, Agame by 41,000 people, including the Assaorta and Hazu. The Saho are nomads with very primitive technology. They move to highlands in the hot season, to coastal plain in cooler months (Welmers).

(19) Sidamo is the name of a language spoken in southern Ethiopia, between Rivers Juba and Webi (Shebeli) and Lake Margherita, also used as a cover term for Alaba, Darasa, Hadya, Kambata--all listed as separate languages-- and K'abena.

(20) Somali (self-designation) is a language spoken in Somali Republic, Ogaden Province of Ethiopia, French Somaliland, Northern Frontier District of Kenya by three to five million speakers. The dialects of Somali are Benadir (southern coast), Dir, including Gadabursi and Sisa (northern Somalia and French Somaliland), Mudug (central Somalia, Ogaden, NFD of Kenya). Also Digil, Jiddu, Merifle, Tunni--Pia considers these separate languages (not mutually intelligible with other dialects); a cover term for these is Rahanweyn. Somali is spoken by Somali 'tribes' (lineages): Dir, Darod and Hawiyya (Mudug), Rahanweyn (Sab 'slave'); and by the following castes: Yibir, Midgan (Sab). The people are pastoralists (except Rahanweyn agriculturists, between Shebeli and Juba Rivers). Their language is the national (in the sense of being used by everyone), but not the official, language of Somali Republic. Somali attempts at writing yielded two scripts: Osmaniya and Gadabursi--alphabetic but unique set of characters; neither is widely used. For the Somali, Arabic is the language of education (Islamic Koranic schools) and culture. English is widely sought after. Official documents in Somali Republic are in English, Italian and Arabic.

(21) Tambaro is either a language or a dialect of Kambata spoken in southwestern Ethiopia.

WESTERN ZONE

(1) Amar (Amarr, Hamar, Amar Kokke, Hamerkoke) may be a dialect of Bako, spoken in Ethiopia, northwest of Lake Stephanie.

(2) Anfillo is a language (also a place name: Anfillo Forest) spoken in Ethiopia, north of River Baro by 2,600 to 3,300 people who are also known as Mao (self-designation). The northern section of the Mao tribe still speaks its original non-Cushitic language; the southern section adopted the Cushitic language of its overlords. This reference to non-Cushitic is from Tucker and Bryan (p. 30).

(3) Baditu (Badditu, Koyra) is a language (dialect cluster) spoken in Ethiopia, south of Lake Margherita, east of Lake Ciamo; it may be the same language as Zaysse, below.

(4) Bako (Baka, Bakko, with Are, Aro self-designation) represents a language or group of languages in Ethiopia, in the Bako District, between the Rivers Omo and Sagan. The group consists of Dime, Gayi, Biya (Biye), Bussa, Amar. Dime, Gayi and Amar are listed as separate languages in some of our sources.

(5) Bana.

(6) Basketo may be a separate language or dialect of Chara, spoken in Ethiopia, middle basin of Omo River.

(7) Benesho (Bienescho, Bienescio) may be a separate language or dialect of Gimira, spoken in southwest Ethiopia.

(8) Borodda is a language and place name for a district in Ethiopia (Omo basin).

(9) Chara (C'ara) is a language or dialect cluster in Ethiopia on the north bank of Omo River, south of the Kafa people.

(10) Dime is a separate language and a member of the Bako group in

Ethiopia, between Rivers Omo and Sagan.

(11) Doko is cited as the name of a language and of people in Ethiopia, Omo River basin.

(12) Dollo.

(13) Gamo.

(14) Garo (Bosha, self-designation) may be a separate language or a dialect of Kafa, spoken in southwestern Ethiopia, north of River Gojeb.

(15) Gayi is a separate language or a dialect of Bako spoken in Ethiopia, east of Omo River.

(16) Girmira (Ghimira) is either a separate language (dialect cluster) or a group of languages spoken in southern Ethiopia; the group includes Shako (Shakko, Sciacco), Benesho, She (Sce), Dizu, Kaba (Gaba), Nao; Shako, Benesho, She, Kaba, Nao are all listed as separate languages.

(17) Gofa may be a dialect of Wolamo in Ethiopia, Omo River basin.

(18) Gonga represents a group of languages which include Anfillo, Garo, Kafa, Mocha, Shinasha (all listed separately); Gongo is now added to the list.

(19) Haruro (Kachama, Gatzamba) may be a separate language or a dialect of Baditu, spoken in Ethiopia, near Lake Margherita, by only 150 speakers.

(20) Janjero (Giangero, Yangaro, Jangor, Zingero, Yemna, Yamna, Yemma) is spoken in Ethiopia between the Gible and Upper Omo Rivers.

(21) Kaba is either a separate language of the Gimira cluster or a dialect of Gimira.

(22) Kafa (Kaffa, Caffa, Caffina, Kafico, Gomaro) is a dialect cluster in southwestern Ethiopia, between Rivers Omo and Gojeb, which includes Garo (Bosho) and Mocha (Shekka) (both also listed as separate languages).

(23) Kerre, in Ethiopia along the Omo River, is cited as a West Cushitic language, but also as the name of people speaking Dinga-Murle languages (Chari-Nile in affiliation, rather than Cushitic).

(24) Konta (Conta) in Ethiopia is said to belong to Ometo, either as a separate language or as a dialect of some other language.

(25) Kucha (Cucia, Kosha), spoken in Ethiopia, has the same relationship to Ometo.

(26) Kuera (Kwera), spoken in Ethiopia.

(27) Kullo is sometimes said to be an Ometo language in Ethiopia, but sometimes associated with Dawaro (Dwaro) in the Eastern Zone.

(28) Maji (Magi) is either a separate language or a Gimira dialect spoken by 5,000 to 7,000 people in Ethiopia.

(29) Malo is an Ometo language or dialect in Ethiopia.

(30) Mocha, spoken in Ethiopia, may be a Kafa dialect.

(31) Nao is either a separate language or a Gimira dialect in southern Ethiopia.

(32) Ometo (Omate, Wamate), sometimes cited as a single language, is a subgroup of West Cushitic in Ethiopia; it includes Northern (Borodda, Gamo, Gofa, Haruro, Konta, Kucha, Kullo, Malo, Uba, Wblano, Zala) and Eastern (Beditu, Zaysse) and Western (Basketo, Chara, Doko) languages, all listed as separate languages in some sources.

(33) Shako (Shakko, Sciacco) is a separate language or a Gimira dialect of southern Ethiopia.

(34) She (Sce, Dizu, Dizzu) is also a separate language or a Gimira dialect of southern Ethiopia.

(35) Shinasha (Scinascia, Bworo, Gongga, Gumuz, Shat, Zet) is a language spoken in Ethiopia, on the Blue Nile.

(36) Tsamai (Tsamako, Kule, Kulla), with 1,000 speakers in Ethiopia, north of Lake Stephanie, is either a dialect of Reshiat (Arbore) or a separate language.

(37) Uba (Ubba) is the name of a language and district in Ethiopia.

(38) Wolamo (Wollamo, Uollamo, Walamo, Wolaitsa, Walaitta) is either a single language (dialect cluster) or a group of languages, including Wolamo proper, in Ethiopia, middle basin Omo River. Gofa and Zala of the Wolamo group are also listed as separate languages.

(39) Zala is either a separate language or a Wolamo dialect in Ethiopia, middle basin Omo River.

(40) Zaysse (Zaisse) is sometimes listed as a separate language in Ethiopia, south of Lake Ciomo, but elsewhere is said to be mutually intelligible with Baditu.

SOUTHERN ZONE

(1) Alawa (Asi, Was1, Wassi, Uassi) with 11,000 speakers may be a separate language or a dialect of Burungi or Iraqw, in Kondoa District, Central Province, Tanganyika.

(2) Burungi is spoken by 8,000 or 9,000 people also in Kondoa District, Central Province, Tanganyika.

(3) Goroa (Gorowa; Fiome, Fiomi) is spoken by 17,000 people in Mbulu District, Northern Province, and Kondoa District, Central Province, Tanganyika.

(4) Iraqw (self-designation with variants Iraku, Irakou, Erok; beside Wa-mbulu) is a dialect cluster spoken by 110,000 people in Mbulu District, Northern Province, Tanganyika.

(5) Mbugu (Mbougou; with Va-mala, wa-maathi as self-designation) is spoken in Tanganyika, Eastern Province.

(6) Sanye (Wa-sanya) is a language spoken in the Kenya coast near Mkunumbi. The Sanye people are perhaps identical with Ariangulu, Langulo, Boni, Watte. Sanye is fast disappearing in favor of Galla, which is spoken by most Sanye.

BERBER

5.2. The Berber languages are spoken in three types of communities across a broad stretch of North Africa, from the Atlantic Ocean to Egypt, which (in one sense) is a continuous Berber zone. The zone is not uninterrupted, of course; in the east, especially, the Berber languages are spoken in small isolated communities established in oases or in small clusters of villages in the midst of Arabic speech communities. Siwa is an example of the isolated desert community (type one). The villages of the Mzab in the Algerian Sahara — interspersed among Arab villages — may be considered an example of the second type of Berber community. A third type should be added to the Berber zone — the insular type exemplified by the Canary Islands where Guanche is spoken.

From east to west, the Berber languages are spoken from Siwa, an oasis in the Western Desert of Egypt south of the Libyan Plateau, to the Atlantic Ocean. The northern boundary of the zone is the Mediterranean Sea, and in the south the zone extends to Senegal on the Atlantic coast, along the Niger River, through the northernmost part of the northern provinces of Nigeria with the southeastern limit in the vicinity of Zinder in Niger.

The number of Berber speakers has been estimated to be about eleven million. This is a conservative estimate; for although the studies that have been published about the distribution of the languages have often given rather small numbers for the number of Berbers in the various parts of the area, there is reason to believe that many of these counts should be considered

underestimated. André Basset pointed out in *La Langue Berbère* (p. 4, London, 1952) that many investigators have concentrated on monolingual speakers of the Berber languages when preparing their reports. Since few Arabs of the area ever learn one of the Berber languages, bilingual speakers of Arabic and a Berber language should be considered native speakers of the Berber language. The women of Berber communities are almost exclusively monolingual; and this fact has frequently been distorted in the statistics about the number of Berber speakers, because Arabic is ascribed to as many women as men. It is this fact which also suggests the status of Arabic as a trade language among the Berbers of the area: women speak Berber exclusively; non-Berbers speak Arabic only; Berber men learn Arabic as a second language.

The largest numbers of Berber speakers can be found in Morocco and Algeria. Approximately 4.8 million of Morocco's estimated 12.0 million population may be considered native speakers of a Berber language. In Algeria, approximately 5.0 million of the estimated 11.3 million population can be considered native speakers of Berber. In Tunisia, the percentage is considerably lower, and the Berber-speaking fraction of the total population may be estimated at 50,000 or 60,000. The Berbers are concentrated in the southern part of the country and on Jerba Island. On Jerba, approximately one-third of the population is Berber speaking. In Libya, the percentage is higher, but the total population is smaller so that 36,000 speakers of Berber may be estimated. In Mauritania and Senegal there are perhaps 35,000

speakers of Berber. In the area of the Tuaregs which extends through Mali, northern Nigeria, and Niger there are probably 50,000 speakers of a Berber language. All of these figures are estimates based on data in reports published before the redefinition of boundaries. During the recent years since the North African countries have gained independence there have been many factors — e.g. population shifts from rural to urban areas — which may lead to different statistics.

The difference between the two dozen separate Berber languages which are listed below is in general about as great as that which exists between one Romance language and another in Europe.

The divisions into groups below are made on the basis of structural characteristics. The chief characteristics of the languages that can readily be observed are in the phonology. The Tamazight-Riff-Kabyle group has a tendency to change lenis stops to spirants. This is not true of the Zenati group which includes the eastern dialects from Siwa to Tunisia, as well as the languages of the Algerian desert area (with the exception of Tuareg). In Tuareg the treatment of fricatives differs from that of the other languages. This is illustrated by the name Tamazight which is generally applied by native speakers to their own language. In Tuareg this word becomes Tamašeq or Tamahuq.

ZENATI GROUP

(1) Siwa, in Western Desert, Egypt

(2) Awjilah, in Libya

(3) Sawknah, in Libya

- (4) Jabal Nafusah, in Libya, including the dialects:

Zuwarah

Jemmari

- (5) Jerba, in Tunisia
(6) Tamezret, in Tunisia
(7) Zraoua, in Tunisia
(8) Taoujjout, in Tunisia
(9) Tmagourt, in Tunisia
(10) Sened, in Tunisia
(11) Ouargla, in Algeria (east, south of Constantine), including the

dialects:

Touggourt

Oued Righ

Temacin

- (12) Ghardaia, in Algeria
(13) Mzab, in Algeria
(14) Gourara, in Algeria
(15) Touat, in Algeria
(16) Tidikelt, in Algeria
(17) Chaouia, in Algeria (Aures).

TAMAZIGHT-RIFF-KABYLE GROUP

- (18) Kabyle, in Algeria
(19) Riff, including the dialects:

Arzeu, in Algeria

Iznacen, in Algeria

Igzennaian, in Morocco

Senhaja de Srair, in Morocco

Others, in Morocco

(20) Tamazight, including the dialects:

Central Atlas, in Morocco

South Oran, in Algeria.

SHILHA

(21) Shilha is spoken in Morocco from the Grand Atlas south to the River Dra. Near Marrakesh the dialects begin to merge with those of Tamazight. This is also true in the east in the vicinity of Taouz. The easternmost point is Tabelbala in Algeria.

ZENAGA

(22) Zenaga is spoken in Mauritania and Senegal.

TUAREG

(23) Tuareg dialects include:

Ahaggar, in Algeria

Ajjer, in Algeria, Libya

Ghadames, in Libya

Air, in Niger

Ioullemmeden, in Niger, Mali, Nigeria.

GUANCHE

(24) Guanche is spoken on the Canary Islands.

The old writing system of the Berbers is preserved among the Tuaregs, usually by the women. This system — tiffinagh, descended from the Old Libyan or Numidian characters derived from Punic cursive script — is alphabetic with symbols for all consonants but with vowels marked only in word final position. The direction of the script may be either left to right or right to left, and in some texts the direction alternates with the second line going in the opposite direction from the first (boustrophedon). The name of the characters has been assumed to be a Berberized form of the Latin 'punica', suggesting a close relationship with the Phoenician alphabet. In contemporary Berber writing either Arabic or Roman script is used. If the latter is used, it is generally French spelling orthography that is used.

The phonological system of the Berber languages is similar to that of the Semitic languages. There is a basic contrast between sonorants and consonants, and the sonorants are further divided into vowels and non-vocalic phonemes. Voiceless bilabial stop and the voiced labio-dental fricative are not often encountered in the phonemic systems of Berber languages. /x/ does not seem to be a part of the basic phonemic system of the languages although it occurs in many of them as free variants and in loans. /h/ and /ħ/ occur chiefly in words borrowed from Arabic. The vocalic system is trivocalic with /i/, /a/, and /u/ the basic elements. The occurrence of 'automatic' (that is, non-contrastive) short vowels is a part of the basic phonology, and this feature has caused much disagreement and difficulty in descriptions of

the language. The automatic vowels are short vowels of the central series like [ə], but they are non-phonemic because they are completely predictable on the basis of the consonantal features of the environment. In addition to these general phonological features, two additional features of the system should be mentioned: pharyngealization and fortis consonants. The first of these is similar to the feature of Arabic that produces the 'emphatic' consonants. The second is usually referred to as gemination of consonants although instrumental measurements have so far failed to produce evidence that fortis consonants are longer than their lenis counterparts, a claim often found in the descriptions. Both pharyngealization and gemination are syllabic features. Stress has not been adequately described for all of the languages, but it seems that each morphemic unit may be considered a stress unit. In each stress unit there is at least one stress, and that occurs on the phonemic vowel within the unit. If there is more than one phonemic vowel in the unit, each one receives equal stress. But derivational affixes do not function as stress units.

Berber words consist of sequences of stems and affixes, with a limited number of free forms or particles many of which seem to be fossilized sequences of inflected stems. On the basis of co-occurrence with affixes of specific classes it is possible to separate noun and verb stems. Affixes fall into two classes: derivative and inflectional. On the basis of current evidence and comparisons together with historical data, it seems that the original system may have been limited to a single class of stems which functioned either as nominals or verbals depending on the class of inflectional affixes

with which they occurred. Grammatical gender is a feature of nouns, and the mark of the feminine is usually /t/. The pronominal system is a three-person system with gender distinctions in second and third person forms in many cases. Contrasting with this three person pronominal system is the system of subject markers to which an extra person has been added. This form is a relative-demonstrative form, and it has frequently been referred to as a participle although the marker occurs in exactly the same position occupied by other subject markers; other inflectional affixes that occur with subject markers occur with this special form, and sequences in which this fourth-person form occurs may be found as independent utterances.

The tense-aspect system of the Berber languages is similar to that of Arabic. There are perfect and imperfect forms with the imperfect susceptible to various modifications with the addition of special tense-aspect affixes. The contrast between perfect and imperfect stems may be indicated by internal vocalic patterns. A further contrast between negative perfect and non-negative perfect indicated by internal vowel change is found for many stems. Derived forms of verbs are formed by the addition of various prefixes: causative (transitive), iterative, reciprocal, and passive.

There are two numbers, singular and plural. For some nouns, a distinction is made in some of the languages between collective and individual nouns. This is usually a contrast between masculine and feminine. There are no adjectives in the language. Descriptive adjectives are expressed as verbs or as nominalized verbs.

The basic sentence structure is [Phrase] [Complement]. The initial phrase may be either nominal or verbal so that two basic sentence types very similar to those of Arabic can be identified. In some of the languages, the nominal sentence seems to have been displaced. Initial position in the sentence seems to be the position of emphasis. A limited number of sentence patterns consisting of particles (e.g. exclamations, affirmation, denial) may also be found.

The following information is excerpted from J. R. Applegate, *An Outline of the Structure of Shilha*, ACLS Publication Series B, Aids No. 11 (1958).

The phonemes are:

t		k		i	u
b	d	g		a	
f	s	ʃ	x	h	
	z	ʒ	y	ɣ	ħ
m	n				
	l				
	r				

/y/ is described as a voiced palato-velar spirant.

/h/ is very infrequent and /ħ/ is distributionally quite limited. A series generating component of 'back position' affects all vowels and the consonants /t d k s z l r/ in the environment /CVC*/. Another component of 'increased tension' in the environment /CVC:/ shortens vowels while it lengthens consonants.

Shilha noun affixes include the following:

t-...-t (and other variants) feminizer

i-...-n (and other variants) plural

bu- owner or possessor of

n- (and other variants) possessive

ua- ~ a- vocative.

Prepositionals, which occur before the above affixes, include:

d- ~ did- with

dar- to

f- ~ fil- for

ʎ- ~ gi- in

i- ~ a- for

s- to

si- by means of

du- under

igi- on

nya- between

tarf- near

tayama- beside.

Verb affixes in Shilha occur in a number of order classes. Order one stands next to the verb root, order two further from the root, and so on.

Order one:

s- (and other variants) causative-transitive

m- reciprocal or reflexive

t- passive

t- ~ -a- ~ -a ~ -i- ~ reduplication habitual.

Order two:

a- nominalizer, agent

l- nominalizer, action, state.

Order three (temporals):

ar- ~ rad- ~ ra- ~a- progressive

i- ~a- ~ u- ~Ø completed action.

Order four (modals):

ur- negative

is- interrogative, dubitative, exclamatory

ad- ~ a- subjunctive, infinitive

iy- if

liy- when

mayala- if

kudna- as soon as

žu- ever

sul- ever again.

Order five (actor person):

-g I

-t...t you

i- he

n- we

t-...-m you (plural masculine)

t-...-mt you (plural feminine)

-n they (masculine)

-nt they (feminine).

Order six (direct goal person, prefixed or suffixed):

i me

k you (masculine)

km you (feminine)

t him

t: her

aγ us

kun you (plural masculine)

kunt you (plural feminine)

tn them (masculine)

tnt them (feminine).

Order seven (indirect goal person):

ii to me

ak to you (masculine)

am to you (feminine)

as to him, her

aγ to us

aun to you (plural masculine)

aunt to you (plural feminine)

asn to them (masculine)

asnt to them (feminine).

Order eight:

i-...-n ~ -n the one who.

Order nine (imperative):

ø singular

-at ~ -iat plural masculine

-amt ~ -iamt plural feminine.

Some Shilha affixes occur with either nouns or verbs:

-d ~ -ad here, this, now

-n ~ -an there, that, then

ma- ~ man- who, what, anything.

Besides nouns (including pronouns and numerals) and verbs, there are in Shilha also particles which occur without affixes.

THE CHAD LANGUAGE FAMILY

5.3. The languages of this family are spoken in the vicinity of Lake Chad, mainly in the area where the boundaries of Nigeria, Cameroons, Chad, and the Central African Republic converge. In Nigeria, the Chadic languages are spoken as far west as Kano Province. The above comments do not, of course, apply to Hausa, which is spoken over wide areas of West Africa. The total number of speakers of the hundred or so Chadic languages (not counting Hausa) is well over a million (well over because the present estimates approximate this; but this total represents only those languages for which population figures are available). In contrast to the million speakers for the other Chadic languages, Hausa alone has some nine million speakers.

We have divided the Chadic languages into a series of six geographic zones, beginning with Zone One in the west and ending with Zone Six in the east. Internal relationships within the Chad Family have not been extensively studied; still, geographical divisions are better than nothing. The languages of Zone Six were originally classified as Chadic by Greenberg, in spite of their earlier exclusion by Lukas on the grounds that they did not have a gender system. (Compare western Cushitic which does not have a gender system either, but is nonetheless clearly within the Afro-Asiatic Phylum.)

ZONE ONE OF CHADIC

The forty languages of this zone are spoken mainly in Nigeria in Kano, Bauchi, Bornu, and Adamawa Provinces, except for Hausa which is widely spoken in many areas of West Africa. The total number of speakers for all the languages of Zone One is estimated at about a half million, not counting the millions and millions of Hausa speakers.

(1) Hausa is spoken by perhaps as many as six million native speakers, mainly in northern Nigeria and adjoining Niger. Some three million non-native speakers use Hausa as a major trade language. The two major dialects are Eastern (spoken in Kano, Katagum, Hadejiya and elsewhere) and Western (spoken in Sokoto, Katsina, Gobir and elsewhere). "Hausa is the most important lingua franca in Nigeria, where it is the official language in the Northern Provinces. It is also widely spoken, and still more widely understood, in other West African countries" (Westermann and Bryan p. 162, 1956), e.g. Dahomey, Togo, Ghana, Cameroons, Chad.

(2) Gwandara is very closely related to Hausa. There are about 15,000 speakers.

(3) Auyokawa

(4) Bede (Bade) is spoken in Bornu Province, Nigeria, by 32,000 speakers.

(5) Mober

(6) Ngizim (Ngizzem) is spoken by some 39,000 speakers south of the Bede in Bornu and Kano Provinces.

(7) Shirawa

(8) Afawa, about 8,000 speakers.

(9) Diryawa

(10) Miyawa

(11) Sirawa

(12) Warjawa, about 30,000 speakers.

(13) Barawa of Dass

(14) Gezawe

(15) Seiyawa, about 2,000 speakers (1921).

(16) Bolewa is spoken by about 32,000 speakers in parts of Bornu and Bauchi Provinces.

- (17) Ngamo (Ngamaya), possibly a dialect of Bolewa, is spoken by some 18,000 speakers in much the same area as Bolewa.
- (18) Chongee
- (19) Dera (Kanakuru) is spoken by over 11,000 speakers in Nigeria, Adamawa and Bornu Provinces.
- (20) Gerwa
- (21) Gerumawa
- (22) Karekare (Kerekere, Kerikeri) is spoken in western Bornu Province, eastern Kano Province, and Bauchi Province, Nigeria. There are about 39,000 speakers of Karekare.
- (23) Kirifawa
- (24) Pero
- (25) Pia (Pai), 2,500 speakers.
- (26) Tangala (Tangale) is spoken in Bauchi Province, Nigeria, by 36,000 speakers.
- (27) Angas (Angassawa, Karang, Kerang) is spoken in Pankshin Division of Plateau Province, Nigeria, by 55,000 speakers.
- (28) Ankwe is spoken south of Angas in Shendam Division of Plateau Province. There are 13,500 speakers.
- (29) Sura has 20,000 speakers, located in Pankshin Division, Plateau Province, Nigeria.
- (30) Bwol, 2,300 speakers.
- (31) Chip, 10,000 speakers.
- (32) Dimuk, about 10,000 speakers.
- (33) Gerka, about 2,000 speakers.
- (34) Goram, 2,000 speakers.

(35) Jorto, 5,000 speakers.

(36) Kwolla, approximately 10,000 speakers.

(37) Miriam, 11,000 speakers.

(38) Montol, about 11,000 speakers.

(39) Tal, 9,000 speakers.

(40) Ron (Baron) is spoken in Pankshin Division, Plateau Province, Nigeria, by about 11,500 speakers.

ZONE TWO OF CHADIC

The two languages of this zone have probably fewer than 100,000 speakers, located in the Lake Chad area, mainly to the south of the Lake.

(1) Kotoko is spoken south of Lake Chad, west of the Shari River, on both sides of the Logone River as far south as the Musgu area in Nigeria, Cameroons, and Chad. There may be as many as 50,000 speakers. Tucker and Bryan list the following dialects:

Kotoko Daa, between Lake Chad and Logone Gana;

Logone, in and around the town of Logone Birni;

Kuseri (Msirr, Miir) at Kuseri on left bank of the Logone River southwest of Fort Lamy;

Gulfei (Malbe, Malgwe, Ngwalkwe, Gwalkwe), at Gulfei (Goulfei) on left bank of Logone northwest of Fort Lamy;

Afade, at Afade west of Shari River;

Shawi (Shoe), in and around Shoe on Shari River, on both sides of Chad-Cameroons border;

Makari, at Makari.

The people of Ngala and Klesem, on the Shari River, no longer speak Kotoko, but have adopted Kanuri, a Saharan language of the Nilo-Saharan Phylum.

(2) Buduma (Yidena, Yedina) is spoken on islands of Lake Chad, and on some parts of the mainland. There are perhaps 45,000 Buduma speakers, divided among two dialects:

Buduma

Kuri.

ZONE THREE OF CHADIC

The twelve languages listed below are spoken by more than 450,000 people. They extend from the northeastern portion of Adamawa Province north along the Nigerian and Cameroons border. Greenberg lists thirty rather than a dozen names, presumably as separate languages; some names listed below as dialects may, of course, be independent languages.

Numerically outstanding among these languages are Bura and Margi with more than 100,000 speakers each (see below)—and these two languages are representative of the Bura group.

(1) Bura (Burra, Pabir, Barburr, Baburr, Huve, Huviya, Babur) is spoken in the Bornu Province, Biu Division, of Nigeria (by 89,000), and in the Mokolo subdivision (by 17,000), and in Adamawa Province of Nigeria (by 72,000). Westermann and Bryan list Magha as being spoken west of the Bura; nothing further is known of Magha.

(2) Margi (Marghi) is variously reported as being spoken by about 50,000 (HRAF) and 151,000 (Westermann and Bryan); it is spoken in the southeastern part of Bornu and Adamawa Provinces of Nigeria, east of the Bura. The following are reported as possibly belonging to a 'dialect cluster' with Margi by Westermann and Bryan, and as possible dialects of Margi by Welmers:

Kilba, nearly 23,000 speakers in Kilba District, Adamawa Province, Nigeria;

Chibak (Chibbak, Chibbuk, Chibok, Chibbok, Cibak, Kibakuri, Kibaku), 3,000;

said by Westermann and Bryan to be mutually intelligible 'with some of the Margi dialects';

'Fali' of Kiria (Fali of Wuba), in the Wuba District of Adamawa Province, Nigeria.

Languages (3) to (9) below, spoken by 35,000, are representative of the Bata group.

(3) Bata (Demsá Batta, Gboati, Bete, Birsa, Dunu) is spoken by 23,000 people (without counting certain dialects) in Adamawa Province, on the banks of the Benue River, in Nigeria; and in Garoua, Cameroons. A number of names listed by Westermann and Bryan, as well as by Welmers, are either dialects or else separate languages. If they are regarded as dialects of Bata, then the total number of Bata speakers is 40,000 (rather than 23,000):

Zumu (Jimo, Jirai, Zomo), about 4,000 speakers, in and around Zumu in Nigeria, also the Malabu (Molaba), 45 miles east of Yola; Kofa; Bulai; and the Muleng; Gudo (Gudu), 10 miles west of Song in Nigeria;

Njai (Nzangi, Zani, Zany, Njel, Njeny, Jen, Njei, Kobotschi, Holma [Kurndel]) in Cameroons. A closely related dialect is spoken by the Gudi (Gude) in Cameroons.

Bachama (Bacama, Bashamma, Goare, Abacama, Besema, Bwareba), spoken by 10,000, on the banks of the Benue River near Numan in Nigeria;

Wadi (Vadi), listed by Welmers.

(4) Cheke (Gude, Mapoli) is spoken in Mubi District of Cameroons and eastward. There is some confusion concerning this group. The Gudi (Dude) are said to speak the same dialect as the Njai; Westermann and Bryan cite Strümpell's Mubi (= 'Mandara', see below), as being identical with Cheke; and they also cite Van Bulck as suggesting Cheke as being the people in the Guidar subdivision

of Cameroons who are also known as Shede.

(5) Hiji (Higi, Hidj, Hill Margi, Kapsiki), is spoken by about 15,000 people in the Mandara Mountains between Uba and Madagali. Local dialects are:

Moda (place name)

Humsi (place name)

Hugi Wula

Higi Sinna

Kapsiki.

(6) Woga (Wudir) is described by Westermann and Bryan as a dialect cluster spoken in the northeast Nigeria-Cameroons border area.

Woga

Vemgo

Vizik

Tur (Turu).

The 'unity of these dialects is questioned' according to Welmers. The Nigerian Woga and Tur number about 2,000, but there are many more across the border.

(7) Fali of Mubi District in Cameroons, around Ulvin, is thought by Westermann and Bryan to be in the Bata language group.

(8) Fali of Yilbu (Jilbu) is also considered by Westermann and Bryan to be in the Bata language group.

(9) Sukur (Sugur, Ssugar) is spoken by 1,300 people south of Madagali.

(10) Tera, totalling 64,000 speakers, is considered by Westermann and Bryan as being a dialect cluster, though Welmers says that some of the following may be independent languages:

Tera (Terawa, Kemaltu, Nyimashi) is spoken by 18,000 people in Bornu and Bauchi

Province on River Gongola in Nigeria;

Hina (Hinna, Hunna) is variously estimated to have 18,000 or 23,000 or 33,000 speakers in Tera District, around Gumburku in Bornu Province, Nigeria;

Hona (Huene, Bua, Kuturicha, Fiteriya) with about 4,500 people northwest of Song in Hona District, and in Gola and Ganda Districts, Bornu Province, Nigeria; Ganda (Gaanda, Kanda, Gabin, Boga) is spoken by about 5,500 in Adamawa Province, in the hill country north of Song;

Jera (Jara, Jerawa, Jerra) is spoken by 2,500 in the southwestern corner of Bornu Province, Nigeria, and the adjacent part of Bauchi Province, south of the Tera on both sides of the Gongola River.

(11) Puthlundi is possibly related either to Tera or Kanakura (Westermann and Bryan): 13,000 speakers live in Biu Division, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

(12) Baza (Kunama, Cunama, Bazen, Baden) is spoken by 30,000 people in Eritrea; in the southern part of the Barentu area, between Braia and Setit Rivers, and west to the Sudan border and south into Ethiopia. There are several dialects:

Barka, in the southeast;

Marda, in the northeast;

Aimasa;

Tika, in the south.

ZONE FOUR OF CHADIC

Some two hundred thousand or more people speak the eight languages listed below which are spoken in the narrow strip of Cameroons between Nigeria and Chad. These eight languages represent the Matakam-Madara Group of Westermann and Bryan. The languages numbered (5) below (Gidar), and (6) below (Mandara-Gamergu) are placed in different zones by Greenberg—the fifth and sixth,

respectively.

- (1) Bulahai is spoken in two main dialects:

Matakam, variously reported as having 33,000 or 55,000 speakers in the Mokolo subdivision of Cameroons;

Mofu (Muffo, Mufu, Muffu, Mofou), spoken by 33,000 people east of Matakam proper, and also further southeast of Lue River in the Maroua subdivision in Cameroons.

- (2) Gwoza (Gwaza) is spoken at Gwoza west of Mora by an unknown number of people. It shows some affinities with Matakam.

- (3) Mora is listed as a dialect cluster by Westermann and Bryan who cite Van Bulck as reporting eleven closely related dialects on the Mora Massif.

- (4) Daba is listed with four dialects by Westermann and Bryan; some of these may be separate languages, according to Welmers:

Gigisa (Gischiga, Guissiga Muturua, Rum), spoken by 18,390 people in Kaele subdivision in Cameroons;

Musgoi (Musgoy, Musugeu, Musugoi), spoken by 4,300 people north of the Gigisa in Cameroons;

Daba Hina is spoken by 2,500 people in Mokolo subdivision in and around Hina west of the Lue River, Cameroons;

Gawar (Gauar, Gaouar), spoken by about 6,000 people in Mokolo subdivision of Cameroons;

Baldwa, listed only by Greenberg.

- (5) Gidar (Gider, Gidder, Guider) is spoken in Lere District of Chad (by 7,500) and Guider subdivision of Cameroons (by 30,000).

- (6) Mandara-Gamergu is spoken in the Mandara Mountains in Cameroons and across the border in Nigeria, Bornu Province, by 30,000 or 40,000 people

altogether. There are two major dialects and a half dozen minor dialects (in terms of number of speakers):

Mandara, (Wandala, Ndara, Wandara), 12,000 in Cameroons and 5,000 in Nigeria, with their main center at Mora;

Gamergu, spoken by 9,000 in Bornu Province of Nigeria on both banks of the Yedzeram River;

Kamburwama, in Mandara mountains;

Masfeima, south of the Mandara;

Jampalam, east of the Mandara;

Zlogba, west of the Mandara;

Mazagwa, southwest of the Mandara;

Gwanje has its closest affinities to the Gamergu dialect.

(7) Ngaslawe is spoken west of the Mandara, but is not a Mandara dialect.

(8) Paduko (Padogo, Padoko, Padokwa, Podokwo), 10,000 speakers in Cameroons, south of Mora.

ZONE FIVE OF CHADIC

The nine languages listed below are spoken by about 120,000 people along the Chad-Cameroons border area (e.g. Musei by 46,000 speakers and Masa by 43,000). These languages represent the Masa group of Westermann and Bryan; Greenberg places the language numbered (1) below (Musgu) in a separate group by itself.

(1) Musgu(Musguw, Musgum, Muusgou, Musgo, Musgow, Mulwi, Masa, Musuk, Muzuk) is spoken by some 25,000 people in the Cameroons-Chad border area south of the Kotoko and on the banks of the Lagone River, west and east of the town of Musgum; this language is spoken as far east as the Shari River, and in the south as far as the Tipuri and Bana languages. Westermann and Bryan list the

following Musgu dialects:

Pus, in Cameroons; the others are spoken in Chad:

Gwai

Abi

Beege

Vulum.

(2) Sigila is spoken in the Cameroons east of Mora and is cited by Westermann and Bryan as belonging with Musgu on the old evidence of Tessman. The classification of this language is tentative.

(3) Musei (Musey, Mussoi) is spoken by 46,000 people in Chad and Cameroons, south of the Masa, who are listed below (6). The following dialects are reported by Westermann and Bryan:

Masa Gbaya

Hollom

Ngame (Gme)

Hoho (Banana) on the Kabiya River

Cameroons dialect spoken in four villages.

(4) Marba is spoken by 5,000 people on the Logone River west of Lai and southwest of Kim.

(5) Dari is spoken in Chad southwest of the Marba. Three dialects are reported for the Dari language:

Kado (in Pala District)

Peve (around Lame)

Tshimiang.

(6) Masa (Banana, Masana, Walia) is spoken by 43,000 people in Cameroons and in Chad. Dialects are reported:

Yagoua (in Cameroons)

Banana (in an area including Gumei)

Walia and Hara in Chad (42,000);

Ba Ili River dialect (1,300).

Concerning this language Welmers comments that "the classification is tentative. Greenberg lists a Masa as Niger-Congo, Adamawa-Eastern, but lists Bana and Banana as Afro-Asiatic, Chadic. His Masa may be something different, not otherwise identified."

(8) Kalung.

(9) Lame.

ZONE SIX OF CHADIC

The languages of this zone are spoken south of Lake Chad, both in Chad and in the Central African Republic. The number of counted speakers is around 175,000, but the count is for only seventeen out of the twenty-six languages which appear in the following list.

(1) Somrai (Somre) is spoken in the western Chad-Central African Republic border area by less than 50,000 speakers.

(2) Tumak (Tumok) is spoken in the Central African Republic southeast of the Ba Ili River, around Ngoundi. The number of speakers is reported to be 'few!.

(3) Ndam (Dam) is spoken in the Central African Republic near the Tumak, by 670 speakers.

(4) Gablai (Kabalai, Lai) is spoken by a few fisherman on the Logone River, Central African Republic.

(5) Gam is spoken between the Masa and Ba Ili, around Gam.

(6) Kim is spoken in the Logone River area around Kim by about 5,000

speakers. There are four dialects (possibly distinct languages):

Kosap

Juman

Kolobo

Ere.

(7) Besme (Unar, Hounar) is spoken in scattered villages between the Kim and Gablai, in Central African Republic.

(8) Nancere (Nantcere) is spoken in the southern part of District Kélo, Région Logone, Central African Republic, by some 20,000 speakers. Dialects are spoken by the Cwa (Chua, Tschwa) and the Lele (Lere).

(9) Miltu is spoken in villages along the Chari River, in District Bousso.

(10) Sarwa is spoken in Région Salamat, District Melfi, south of the Bua (see Adamawa of Niger-Congo). There are some 400 speakers.

Items (11) to (14) below are tentatively included as Chadic here; Greenberg does not list them.

(11) Tunya is spoken in Chad, north of Fort Archambault, by some 800 speakers.

(12) Dai (Day) is spoken in Région Moyen-Chari, Districts Moissala and Koumra, by about 600 speakers.

(13) Buso is spoken by 40 or 50 blacksmiths in Bousso Town, Chad.

(14) Fanya (Fana, Fania, Mana, Kobe) is spoken in District Melfi between Boli and Lake Iro, Chad. There are about 1,500 Fanya speakers.

(15) Dormo is spoken in Lai, Central African Republic.

(16) Nangire is spoken on the Logone River opposite Lai.

(17) Gabri (Gaberri, Tshere, Tsire) is spoken on the banks of the Logone River southwest of the Somrai, in nineteen villages around Droisa, Central

African Republic. The number of speakers is not known.

Items (18) to (23), below, are listed as a single group by Westermann and Bryan. They are located in Chad, south of the Batha River.

(18) Sokoro has about 8,000 speakers and four dialects as follows:

Sokoro (northeast of Melfi massif and south of Djebren)

Barein (between Fandiala and Telgo, south of the Sokoro)

Saba (northeast of Melfi, east of the Sokoro)

Tunjur (only about 50 speakers, in Melfi).

(19) Mubi has some 36,000 speakers, and is differentiated in five dialects:

Mubi (22,500 speakers, northeast of Abu Telfan)

Masmaje (north of the Mubi on the south bank of the Batha River)

Kajakse (east of the Mubi, west of Goz Beida)

Bergit (southwest of the Mubi)

Toram (south of Abu Deia).

(20) Mogum is spoken in the Melfi-Abu Deia area, Chad, by about 6,000 speakers.

(21) Dangaleat is spoken north of Jebel Geira, northwest of Bitkine, Chad. There are 16,000 speakers.

(22) Bidyo is spoken west of Abu Telfan, Chad, by 13,000 to 14,000 speakers. Bidyo and Waana are the two dialects of this language.

(23) Jongor (Djongor) is spoken by 14,000 to 16,000 speakers in two areas (corresponding to dialects): Abu Telfan and Jebel Geira, Chad.

(24) Modgel

(25) Tuburi (Tupuri)

(26) Karbo.

EGYPTIAN-COPTIC

5.4. The Ancient Egyptian language descended to modern times as the Coptic language. This Egyptian-Coptic constituted a small language family coordinate with Semitic on the one hand, and with the Cushitic and Berber languages on the other hand. At the time when it seemed to simplify matters for text-book writing—as recently as 1948 in the instance of A. L. Kroeber's *Anthropology*—Berber languages and Cushitic languages were lumped together under the cover-term 'Hamitic'. So far, so good; both are relatively unanalyzed and stand in sharp contrast to the well attested Semitic family, whether listed as a pair under one generic label (Hamitic) or separately (Berber languages and Cushitic languages). But it does not do to include Egyptian in the Hamitic group, as Kroeber does (*Anthropology*, p. 214): "The whole of northern Africa this side of latitude 10°N., and parts of East Africa to and beyond the equator, were at one time Hamitic. This is the family to which the language of ancient Egypt belonged. Hamitic and Semitic, named after sons of Noah, probably derive from a common source, in which case there would be only the Hamitic-Semitic family to be reckoned with. Also, in that eventuality the separation of the common mother tongue into the African Hamitic and the Asiatic Semitic divisions must have occurred in very ancient times. In the past thousand years Hamitic has yielded ground before Semitic, owing to the spread of Arabic in Mohammedan Africa."

The objection to such text-book lumping of Egyptian in Hamitic—which then makes Hamitic merely the non-Semitic relative of Semitic—is that the

internal relationships among Afro-Asiatic languages show that Egyptian may well be more closely related to Semitic than to Berber or Cushitic languages.

W. F. Albright (*The Archaeology of Palestine*, Penguin Books, 1954) states that of all these languages, Egyptian is most closely related to Semitic, somewhat as Hittite is related to Indo-European. 'Whole declensions of pronouns and conjugations of verbs, long lists of words, basic elements in pronunciation and syntax were common to both [Egyptian and Semitic], but the languages were very different . . . ' (p. 181). The ancient Egyptian language can be divided into three historical phases: Old (3400-2200 B. C.), Middle (2200-1580 B. C.), and New (1580 B. C. to the third century A. D.) after which it is known as Coptic. A vast literature was written in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing—an alphabet—included logographic type of writing.

The persistence of language in the face of socio-political change is nowhere better exemplified than in Egypt. The Ancient Egyptian language continued to be spoken and written for four millenia, during which time it was successively conquered by Hyksos, Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman powers, each introducing a new language for administrators, while not changing the language of the administered. Egypt became Arabic-speaking after Egyptians were converted to Islam.

Nearly all of North Africa and not inconsiderable areas of sub-Saharan Africa are now under Mohammadan culture. But Coptic, the daughter language of Ancient Egyptian, continued to be spoken by Egyptians who were not converted to Islam.

Before the Arab conquest of Egypt (640 A.D.), the Coptic language was already differentiated dialectically and written by native scholars who knew Greek. They wrote in a Coptic alphabet that included thirty-one letters—twenty-four derived from Greek, and seven from demotic, the script form of Egyptian hieroglyphic. They began (2nd century A.D.) by translating Scriptures. The language and its literature and its dialects flourished for more than a millenium; and there are persistent rumors that Coptic is still spoken somewhere in Egypt. When it was a flourishing language, its dialects were:

Bashmuri, a pidginized Coptic-Egyptian-Greek;

Bohayric (Bohairic), known as a literary and liturgical dialect, as an upper-class dialect or standard Coptic in Cairo, and as the second language of Arabic speakers (or Arabic was the second language of Coptic speakers) in Lower Egypt; the remaining Coptic dialects were spoken in Upper Egypt:

Fayumic;

Asyūtic (Assiut, Sub-Akhmimic);

Akhmimic (Akhmim);

Sahidic, the standard Coptic of Upper Egypt.

After the Arab conquest, Coptic was spoken in more restricted areas of Egypt; but for a thousand years remained the majority language wherever it was spoken at all. Thus, it is reported that in the 15th century A.D. all speakers in Upper Egypt spoke Coptic, and that many were monolingually Coptic (reported by Maqrizi, an Arabic writer); in the 17th century, in a village near Luxor, only one old man was found who could

speak Coptic (found by P. Vansleb, a European traveler). This is the basis for the statement frequently made that Coptic became extinct in the 17th century. It is of course extinct as a literary language, but Coptic, as a language, may still be spoken.

SEMITIC

5.5. The Semitic family is one of the three best attested language families in the Old World (beside Uralic, which was known as Finno-Ugric before Samoyed was included in the family; and beside Indo-European which is known as Indo-Hittite when Hittite is included in the family). Languages of the Semitic family were spoken at the crossroads of civilization, from the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates (Akkadian) across the Fertile Crescent to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, in the Most Ancient East. And speakers of one Semitic language, the Phoenicians, were sea-going; in Punic and Neo-Punic times they colonized the northern shore of the Mediterranean from which they challenged the power of Rome in Carthaginian days, and later circumnavigated Africa. South Semitic peoples have settled all over Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, in prehistoric times (Ethiopic) and in historic times (Moroccan to Egyptian Arabic).

A map of present day language families will show that in Africa the Semitic languages are interspersed with languages belonging to other families. However, the peninsula extending from Syria to Saudi Arabia (whose shores are washed by waters of the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean) is solidly Semitic in speech. This peninsula is flanked on its eastern side by an Indo-European speaking area but extends north through Iraq, Jordan, Sinai, Israel, Lebanon, and Syria; hence, it is bound on its landward side by Turkey in the north and Iran in the east. This solidly Semitic area of Southwest Asia covers less

ground than the ground that is covered by speakers of Semitic languages in Africa. But Africa is nowhere solidly Semitic; some areas are dominated by Semitic languages, while in other areas the Semitic languages are linguistic enclaves surrounded or interpenetrated—in the case of urban areas, for example—by languages belonging to other language families.

The main classification which follows distinguishes I. North Semitic from II. South Semitic. Then, I. North Semitic is further distinguished as A. Northwest Semitic (comprising a Canaanite group of languages, an Ugaritic Group, an Aramaic Group, and an Amorite Group) versus B. Northeast Semitic. So also, in a parallel way, II. South Semitic is further distinguished as A. Southwest Semitic (Arabic) versus B. Southeast Semitic.

I. NORTH SEMITIC

A. NORTHWEST SEMITIC

Hebrew, Phoenician and Moabite, along with many poorly documented languages and/or dialects such as Hamat constitute a Canaanite Group. Hebrew is the only language of this group that is not extinct.

CANAANITE GROUP

(1) Modern Hebrew is spoken—with varying degrees of proficiency—by some two million people in Israel. In addition, there are at least another half million, and possibly a million speakers of Modern Hebrew outside Israel. In 1962, for example, 1,000 high school graduates in the United States took and passed college entrance exams in Hebrew. Also, some five to ten million people have some knowledge of liturgical Classical Hebrew.

Modern Hebrew is based essentially on Talmudic, Old Testament, Mediaeval and Haskalah literature, but numerous innovations have taken place as a result of prolonged contact with European languages.

The phonemic system of Modern Hebrew is based largely on the speech of the Sephardic (Hispano-Portuguese) Jews. But stress, intonation, and to some extent syntax, have been also influenced by the speech of Ashkenazic (east European) Jews.

In Modern Hebrew there are two main dialects: Standard (General Israeli, Europeanized) and Oriental (Arabized, also called Yemenite but including much more than this label indicates). The Standard or Europeanized dialect is the prestige dialect; it is gaining over the Oriental dialect. The Hebrew used for radio and stage purposes is merely a variety of the Standard dialect. A tongue tip [r] is used in radio and stage Hebrew in place of the uvular [ʀ] generally used elsewhere. Israeli Stage Hebrew was introduced in the 20's by immigrant theatre people from Moscow who had previously established a well defined linguistic tradition in Russia.

The phonemic inventory of the Standard dialect, according to Haim Blanc, *Intensive Spoken Israeli Hebrew* (Book I, English Language Service Inc., Washington, 1960) is:

p	t	c	(č)	k	i	u
b	d		(ǰ)	g	e	o
f	s		š	x	h	a
v	z		(ž)			plus stress

m n

l

r

y

Phonemes enclosed in parentheses occur only in recent loan words. The phonemes /e/ and /o/ vary phonetically from speaker to speaker, being very close with some and very open with others. The Oriental dialect has about a half dozen more consonant phonemes than the Standard dialect. These include pharyngealized (or emphatic) stops and additional fricatives (/θ/ and /ð/).

(2) Moabite, extinct, known from a single inscription of the 8th century B. C.

(3) Hamat, beside many other dialects and/or languages, all extinct.

(4) Phoenician, extinct, includes Punic, Neo-Punic, Yaudi, Central Phoenician (Byblos) and South Phoenician.

UGARITIC GROUP

(5) Ugaritic, extinct, now generally considered coordinate with Canaanite but formerly grouped with Phoenician as Coast Canaanite as against Hebrew, Moabite and others which constitute Inland Canaanite.

ARAMAIC GROUP

(6) West Aramaic is spoken in the mountainous regions of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon in the villages of Ma'lūla (Christian), and Baḥ'a and Ġubādīn (Moslem) in Syria. The total number of speakers is not known.

Extinct dialects include Judeo-Aramaic, Samaritan, Palestinian Christian, Nabataean and Palmyrene.

(7) East Aramaic, separated from West Aramaic by uninhabited desert country, is still spoken in eastern Syria between Lakes Urmia and Van by Nestorians; in the district of Tur Abdin by Jacobites; also north of Mosul.

Aisor, a Neo-Syrian dialect of East Aramaic, has the status of a literary language in the Soviet Union. Aisor is spoken by 20,000 people in the USSR and by an unknown number elsewhere. The USSR speakers of Aisor are concentrated near Erevan¹ with some scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside the USSR they are found in northwestern Iran and in Iraq, particularly in Tur Abdin (Iraq).

Another variety of Eastern Aramaic (possibly a separate language), called Targum, is spoken in Israel by Jews formerly of the Kurdistan. The number of these speakers is somewhere between 10,000 and 100,000. Of the following East Aramaic dialects only Syriac is still spoken: Syriac (split into Eastern (Nestorian) and Western (Jacobite) as a result of (Christian) theological differences), Babylonian Talmud Aramaic and Mandaic (Sabaeans of Lower Mesopotamia). The Syrian Church developed a vast literature based on the Edessa variety of the Syrian dialect.

Aramaic divided into two separate languages with the beginning of the Christian era. Its status as a lingua franca of the Near East began in the 8th century B.C. and reached its height from the 4th century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. Aramaic has been the sacred language (with a vast literature) of six or seven major religions.

AMORITE GROUP

(8) Amorite, now extinct, was once spoken in the desert area between West and East Aramaic (now inhabited by Arabic speakers).

B. NORTHEAST SEMITIC

(9) Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian), extinct, is the oldest known Semitic

language, dating possibly from about 3000 B.C. The name Akkadian is derived from Akkad, the ancient capital of Mesopotamia (Iraq) ruled by Sargon. From extensive early contact, Akkadian had many Sumerian loan words. Akkadian eventually displaced Sumerian and became the only spoken language of Mesopotamia. The two dialects of Akkadian, Babylonian (strongly influenced by Hittite) and Assyrian, diverged between 2500 and 1950 B.C. The Babylonian dialect became the lingua franca of the Near East and flourished until it was replaced by Aramaic. The celebrated Hammurabi Code, dating from 1800 or 1700 B.C., belongs to the Neo-Babylonian period of Akkadian.

II. SOUTH SEMITIC

A. SOUTHWEST SEMITIC

(10) The Classical Arabic that is spoken as a lingua franca by the educated in all parts of the Arabic speaking world is definitely not understood by the uneducated (aside from the fact that Classical Arabic is not read by them since they are illiterate). Beside significant lexical differences between Classical and Colloquial Arabic, Classical still maintains *in toto*, contrary to Colloquial, the old system of case suffixes and the (five) so-called subjunctives. Of all Semitic Languages, Classical Arabic best preserves the Proto-Semitic phonemic system.

(11) Modern (Colloquial) Arabic is spoken by well over 50 million people (some estimates running as high as 80 million) in the Arabian Peninsula, the Fertile Crescent and North Africa. There are many extremely diversified

dialects of Modern Arabic. Some of these, like the Moroccan and Maltese, may well be distinct languages on the basis of their numerous innovations which may be responsible for barriers to mutual intelligibility. It may turn out that the best way of classifying Arabic dialects is by 'city' versus 'town' versus 'tribal'—and there is considerable basis for this in the literature—but no overall scheme of this sort has yet been worked out. The following list of Arabic dialects is based on Bertold Spuler (1954) and Gray (1934):

Arabian Dialects:

Bedouin dialects

Mecca

Hijaz

Najd

Yemen

Hadramaut

Datina

Oman

Muscat.

Iraqian Dialects (merging into Syria):

Bedouin dialects

Bagdad

Mosul

Mardin.

Syro-Palestinian Dialects:

Aleppo

Beirut

Damascus

Lebanon

Jerusalem

Habab

Saida

Semi-nomadic dialects

Nomadic dialects.

Egyptian-Tunisian Dialects:

Cairo

Dialects of lower Egypt

Tripolis Bedouin (very closely related to lower Egypt dialects)

Tripolis city

Tunis city

Sfax (east coast of Tunisia)

Takruna.

Algerian Dialects:

City dialects, including Constantine, Algiers and Oran (in Algeria, differing most sharply from Bedouin dialects)

Bedouin dialects.

Moroccan Dialects:

City dialects (differing sharply from rural dialects)

Rural dialects including:

Taza

Warga

Sus

Houwara

Maltese (isolated since 1000 A.D. and strongly influenced by Italian).

Southwest Saharan Dialects (called Hassani by Gray) are spoken in Mauritania, Mali, etc.

Sudan Dialects.

Egyptian Arabic, due to its extensive use on radio and in movies, is understood throughout the Arabic speaking part of the world, while Moroccan Arabic, at the other extreme, is not at all comprehensible in Egypt.

Pharyngealized consonants are attested for all Arabic dialects except Maltese. These consonants have also been described as velarized, emphatic, uvularized, retracted, strongly articulated, heavy, and u-resonated. In the inventories below, pharyngealized consonants are marked with a subscript period, or listed to the right of velar consonants.

The Cairo dialect has the following phonemes (Walter Lehn, *Emphasis in Cairo Arabic*, Language 39. 29-39 (1963)):

t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g	e	o
f	s	š	x	ħ
z	ɣ	ʕ	h	a
plus stress and length				

m n

l

r

w y

/ħ ʕ / are pharyngeal fricatives, voiceless and voiced respectively. Traditionally, only four pharyngealized consonants /ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ / are recognized for this dialect (perhaps due to the orthography). An alternative would be to recognize pharyngealization as a vowel feature. Lehn prefers still another approach, whereby pharyngealization is recognized as a feature of the syllable, which results in two kinds of syllables: pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized.

The phonemic system of the Damascus dialect (Jean Cantineau, *The Phonemic System of Damascus Arabic*, Word 12. 116-124 (1956)) differs from that of the Cairo dialect in that it lacks the semivowels /w y / and the velar fricatives /x ʁ /, and in that it adds /ʕ /. Cantineau does not treat pharyngealization as a syllable feature, and lists six pharyngealized consonants /ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ ṭ ħ ʕ /. The vowel system of Damascus Arabic consists of /i a u / plus length, and is thus more typical of Arabic dialects than the vowel system of the Cairo dialect.

The phonemic system of the Arabian dialects is largely the same as that of Classical Arabic. B. Hunter Smeaton (*Lexical Expansion Due to Technical Change*, a manuscript) gives the following Classical Arabic inventory:

	t		k	q	ʔ	i	u
b	d		g			a	
f	θ	s	š	x	ħ	h	plus length

	ث	ز	ح	ع
m		n		
		l		
		r		
w			y	

To this inventory Smeaton adds the pharyngealized consonants /t̤ d̤ s̤ ʕ̤/. It is not clear whether /q/ could or could not be considered the pharyngealized counterpart of /k/ (i.e. a stop), or one of the back fricatives.

Aside from many phonetic variations, the major phonemic Colloquial deviations from the Classical system are as follows (after Smeaton): (1) the merging of Classical /θ/ with /f/ in certain Baharna dialects, (2) the merging of Classical /ð/ with /d/ in some (especially Baharna) dialects, (3) the merging of Classical /d̤/ with /ð/ throughout eastern Arabia and Iraq, (4) the merging of Classical /g/ [gʸ] with /y/ in the same dialects that merge /θ/ with /f/ (see (1) above), (5) the replacement of Classical /q/ by /ʒ/ by some Hasawi speakers, (6) the replacement of Classical /q/ by /g/ [gʸ] throughout Arabia and Iraq, and (7) the replacement, although rarely, of Classical /q/ by /ħ/. In summary, the differences between Classical and Colloquial dialects involve the absence of one or more of the phonemes /θ ð d̤ g/ or /q/ in the latter.

B. SOUTHEAST SEMITIC

(12) Old South Arabic, now extinct, was once used as a lingua franca. Dialects include Sabaean, Minaean, Qataban-Aswan and Hadramaut.

(13) Modern South Arabic is spoken in certain regions of southern Arabia between Hadramaut and Oman. The number of speakers is not known.

Dialects include (Leslau 1964):

Mahri, of Mahra

Botahari-Harsusi, near Mahri

Shahari (Qarawi, Ehkili), east of Mahri

Kuria Muria, near Shahari

the dialect of five islands off the Arabian coast

Sokotri (Soqotri), on the island of Sokotra in the Gulf of Aden.

ETHIOPIC GROUP

The indigenous languages of Ethiopia were Cushitic. According to Leslau, south Arabian Semites entered Ethiopia sometime in the first millenium B. C. and established a kingdom at Axum in the north-central Ethiopian highlands. This rather early date may be based on Hellenistic sources. At any rate, the earliest Semitic inscriptions in Africa are from 300 or 400 A. D.

There are eight known Semitic languages of Ethiopia, six of which are spoken; two are extinct. The total number of speakers (for the six living languages) is over seven and a half million, six million of whom speak Amharic.

NORTHERN ETHIOPIC

(14) Geez (Ancient Ethiopic), extinct, but still used in the liturgy of the Coptic Church. The closest spoken relative of Geez is Tigrinya.

(15) Tigre has perhaps as many as 250,000 speakers located in

Ethiopia in the eastern and western lowlands of Eritrea, including the Massawa region and the Dahlak Islands in the east and up to the Kassala province, and in the border regions of the Sudan in the west.

(16) Tigrinya is spoken by well over a million people in Ethiopia, mainly the province of Tigre, and Eritrea.

SOUTHERN ETHIOPIC

(17) Amharic is the national language of Ethiopia, spoken by perhaps as many as 6,000,000 people. To the north, the Amharic speech area is bounded by Tigrinya speakers. The Ethiopian government is making strong efforts to superimpose Amharic on all the linguistic minorities in the country including Arabic speakers. The total population of Ethiopia is (1956 estimate) 20 million. Non-Semitic languages spoken in Ethiopia include many of the Cushitic languages beside English and Italian.

(18) Argobba is spoken in the region of Ankober, to the north of Addis Ababa. Argobba is being replaced by Amharic in this area, and south of Harari it has already been completely replaced by Galla (Cushitic). The number of Argobba speakers is now probably around 2,000.

(19) Harari is spoken in the city of Harar in eastern Ethiopia by some 35,000 people. Harari has many Amharic and Galla loans.

(20) Gurage is spoken by 350,000 people in the region of Gurage southwest of Addis Ababa. There are three main dialect groups: Eastern Gurage including Selti, Wolani (Walani), Ulbarag, Innegor and Zway; Western Gurage including Chaha, Ezha, Gieta (Gyeto), Ennemor (Innemor),

Endegeny, Muher, Masqan and Gogot;

Northern Gurage including only Aymellel.

There are many Sidamo (Cushitic) loans in Gurage.

(21) Gafat, now extinct, was spoken until recently in the region of the Blue Nile in the province of Godjam. Amharic has replaced Gafat.

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA		American Anthropologist
ACLS		American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P		American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL		Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P		American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T		American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B		Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R		Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU		Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL		International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL		Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF		Journal of American Folklore
JSAP		Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg		Language
RCPAFL		Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA		Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL		Studies in Linguistics
TCLP		Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL		University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE		University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL		University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA		Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS		William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

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